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The primates of the four
Georges

THE PRIMATES OF THE FOUR GEORGES

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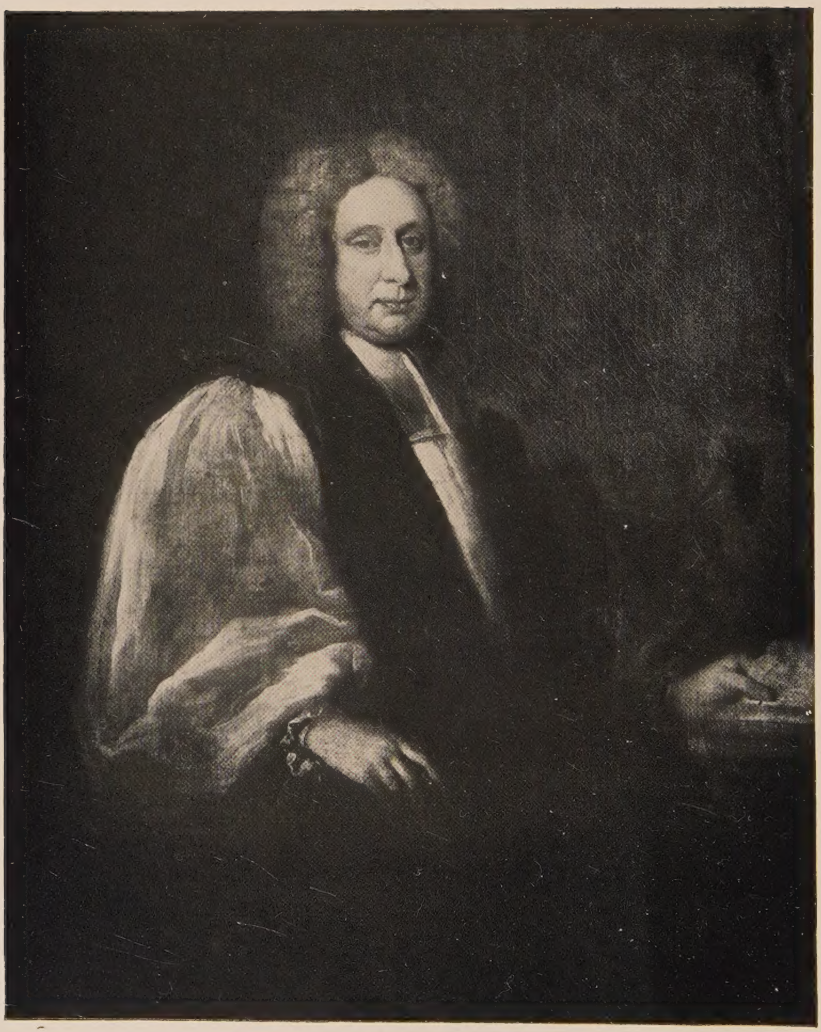

WILLIAM WAKE

[*Frontispiece*

THE PRIMATES OF THE FOUR GEORGES

By ALDRED W. ROWDEN, K.C.

WITH PORTRAITS

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PREFACE

THE writer desires to thank the Dean of Christ Church, Oxford, for giving him access to the Wake MSS at Christ Church. He wishes also to acknowledge the kindness shown him by the Librarian at Christ Church, and the under-Librarian, Mr. Francis, during his researches in the Library at Christ Church.

The extracts from the Wake MSS are published with the permission of the Trustees of the MSS, the Dean of Christ Church, and the Regius Professors of Divinity and Hebrew, Oxford, for which permission the writer is deeply grateful.

He has also to thank the Rev. Claude Jenkins, Librarian at Lambeth, for much courteous assistance.

To His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury the writer's sincere thanks are due for permission to copy the portraits at Lambeth which appear as illustrations of this volume.

A. W. R.

INTRODUCTORY STATEMENT

QUEEN ANNE died on 1st August 1714. Archbishop Tenison had then been Primate for twenty years, having been appointed in 1694 by William III. On the 16th September, George I. landed at Greenwich, and on the 20th October he was crowned in Westminster Abbey by the Venerable Tenison. The Primate survived the ceremony less than two months, his death taking place on Christmas Eve following. William Wake, who succeeded him, may therefore be fairly described as the first Georgian Primate.

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THE PRIMATES OF THE FOUR GEORGES

WILLIAM WAKE

1716–1737

William Wake was born on the 26th January 1657, at Blandford in Dorset, being the son of Mr. William Wake of Shipwick in that town, a man of good family and comfortable fortune. The archbishop in later life showed himself not uninterested in his ancestors and pedigree, and wrote a brief inquiry into the "antiquity, honour, and estate" of the name of the family of Wake for the use of his son, which was reprinted at Warminster in 1833 by his great-granddaughter, Etheldreda Bennett. The archbishop's pride in the antiquity of his family and the distinction of his early ancestors was by no means without foundation. The family of Wake or le Wake goes back to the Norman Conquest or before it. The name of Wake or Wac is in the roll of Battle Abbey. Brompton says that some of the family were of those who asked William the Conqueror to come over. But a better story is that Herewold, surnamed de Wake or Le Wake, was the last of the Barons to submit to William I., who came to terms with him in 1076, the terms involving Wake's restoration to his estates and honours. The Lordships of Brunne and Depyng continued in the family for over 500 years. A Chronicler of Primates should not omit to mention that in our own time a member of the Wake family has been brought into close connexion with Canterbury,

an elder and very dear sister of Archbishop Tait having married Sir Charles Wake. From Herewold was descended Baldwin le Wake, who was a baron at the coronation of Richard I. Indeed our archbishop claimed, and not without reason, royal affinity. Baldwin's grandson, Thomas, married Blanche Plantagenet, and on his death without issue the estates passed to his sister, wife of Edmund of Woodstock, Edward the First's youngest son, whose daughter was Joan, "a lady of transcendent beauty," and known as the Fair Maid of Kent. She had for her third husband the Black Prince, and they were the father and mother of Richard II.

Archbishop Wake's own paternal grandmother was Elizabeth Gorges, daughter of Sir Edward Gorges, Knight.

William Wake, the subject of our memoir, received his education at Blandford Grammar School, under Curgenwen. His progress and success at school were remarkable, and his father resolved on his going to the University. He accordingly took him to Oxford with the intention of entering him at Trinity. But father and son, in making a tour of inspection of the University city, happened to fall in with Fell—the Dean of Christ Church, afterwards Bishop of Oxford—who knew something of the elder Wake. Father and son were invited to partake of the Dean's hospitality, and, as a result of a promise by the Dean to give the young man a student's place, Trinity was given up, and the future archbishop was admitted a student of Christ Church, and matriculated on 28th February 1672, being then fifteen years old.

Wake took his degree of B.A. on 26th October 1676, and two and a half years later, viz., on 29th June 1679, proceeded to take the degree of M.A. His father is said to have designed him for trade, and to have laid out no less a sum than £10,000 to put him into the clothing business: but the future archbishop throughout his life

was of genuine piety, and was resolved, in spite of paternal schemes for worldly riches, to take orders.

Shortly afterwards he had the opportunity of being introduced to a foreign Court under favourable circumstances. In 1682, Charles II. sent Sir Richard Graham, who had sat in Parliament as burgess for Cockermouth in Cumberland, to Paris as his envoy extraordinary to the Court of Louis XIV., having previously raised him to the peerage of Scotland as Lord Viscount Preston. The Envoy to Paris had himself been educated at Christ Church, and requiring the services of a chaplain gave the post to his Christ Church friend. Lord Preston was a man of learning, and much later, being a great friend and favourite of James II., was made by him in 1688, when times were getting desperate for that monarch, Secretary of State in place of Sunderland. In 1690 he got mixed up with Henry Lord Clarendon, Turner, Bishop of Ely, Ken's friend, Ashton, and Graham in a Jacobite plot. How the conspirators fared may be told in Evelyn's language under date 18th January 1691 : " Lord Preston " (being only a Scotch peer he was tried at the Old Bailey) " condemned about a design to bring in King James by the French. Ashton executed. The Bishop of Ely, Mr. Graham, etc., absconded." Turner had been one of James II.'s chaplains when the latter was Duke of York, and could not give up his loyalty to him. His prominent nose, " Turner's beak or hook "—known to those acquainted with his picture in the Hall of New College, Oxford—made him, as Archbishop Sancroft said in a letter a year or so later, " a very remarkable person," who could not rely for escape in any disguise : " not of late only, but of old, Sancroft quaintly remarks, the παράσημον of the vessel the sign by which 'twas known was in the Prow or Beak, Acts xxviii." Ashton played the man on the scaffold, but Preston purchased his life by disclosures far from creditable. But the real security of the plotters lay in William III.'s undoubted mag-

nanimity. It was when Preston was being examined in William's presence and was implicating public men, Whigs as well as Tories, right and left, and Carmarthen, the Danby of former years, was egging him on to further and further disclosures, that the King touched Carmarthen upon the shoulder saying, "My Lord, there is too much of this."

To return, however, it is certainly to Preston's credit that he should have selected as a companion of his foreign residence a man of the learning and piety of Wake.

Wake's time in Paris was spent in a way befitting his character and habits. Bishop Fell of Oxford, his old friend of Christ Church days, was at the time preparing an edition of the New Testament in Greek, and through Lord Preston got Wake to collate an important New Testament manuscript The English Prelate had chosen the right man for the job, as appears from Wake's letter to him dated the 3rd July 1684 in or near Paris :

"According to your Lordship's commands in your letter enclosed by my Lord Preston, I have made it my endeavour to get a sight of the MS. mentioned to y^{r} Lordship of the New Testament. I am assured by a person of great knowledge and understanding in these matters, that there is not only that but 7 or 8 more in the same Library of the late Mons. Colbert which I may have the collation of, and (that he will undertake to procure me leave) which never have been examined. I am assured by a very ingenious man that the collation of the MS. of St. Germain made by Mons. Gazon is very imperfect : so that if your Lordship has no other I believe he will furnish me with those that are more exact. It is a MS. of about 1000 years since, belonging to the monastery of Ste Geneviève, which Curcellœus had the use of, but having given no account (as was done in the Oxford Collations) from what MSS he took his various lections they are of little use." After offering to get copies of these "and others to the number of 20 or more," Wake says : 'If your Lordship desires no others than of that MSS

I first mentioned, and the review of that of St. Germain, I hope in a fortnight's time after I shall have the honour of receiving your Lordship's commands to despatch them to you."

It was something which happened during Wake's stay in Paris with Preston that started him in what turned out to be a protracted controversy with the renowned Bossuet on points of Romanist Doctrine. Bossuet was Bishop of Condom, but resigned that office on being appointed tutor to the Dauphin : in 1681 he was made Bishop of Meaux. Bossuet was a controversialist of the highest skill, Hallam's description of him as "the eagle of Meaux, lordly of form, fierce of eye, and terrible in his beak and claw," is well known. It says something for Wake's learning and confidence in his own learning that at thirty he should have crossed swords with so doughty a foe. It fell out thus : Bossuet had put forth a work called *An Exposition of the Doctrine of the Catholic Church*, with the object of grounding the celebrated Turenne in the Romish creed. In its original form it wanted, as Wake declares, the chapters on the Eucharist, Tradition, the authority of the Church and Pope, which afterwards appeared as part of it, and generally stated the Roman creed in terms as little likely to offend Protestants as possible. But it got the approval of the Archbishop of Rheims and nine other bishops. Bossuet however wanted more, and just before the general issue of the work applied to the Sorbonne for its imprimatur But the theologians of the Sorbonne instead of this marked several passages as being so incomplete as to be a perversion of the true Roman doctrine. The first impression was hastily suppressed ; the defective passages were omitted or corrected, and with all speed a new edition was issued as if there had been no earlier one. But somehow Wake had got into his hands a copy of the first impression, marked, as he says, by the doctors of the Sorbonne.

Charles II. died on the 6th February 1685. Preston was soon recalled by James II. for high work at home, and in the course of 1685 Wake returned to England with his patron.

In 1686 he published, in answer to Bossuet, his *Exposition of the Doctrine of the Church of England*. By way of preface to his work Wake relates the appearance of the first and of the amended editions of Bossuet's work, and that Bossuet himself had been charged with the change in the latter. "I don't hear," he says, "that he has ever yet thought fit to deny the relation either in the advertisement prefixed to the later edition of his book wherein he replies to some other passages of the same treatise or in any other vindication. . . . Certainly it appears to us not only to give a clear account of the design and genius of the whole book, but to be a plain demonstration, how improbable soever Mons. de Meaux would represent it, that it is not impossible for a bishop of the Church of Rome either not to be sufficiently instructed in his religion to know what is the doctrine of it, or not sufficiently sincere to represent it without disguise."

As regards his own treatise, Wake says: "I have suffered myself to be persuaded to pursue the method of Mons. de Meaux's exposition as to the doctrine of the Church of England, and to oppose sincerely to what he pretends is the opinion of the Roman Church that form of faith that is openly professed and taught without any disguise or dissimulation among us."

This work was followed by a war of pamphlets. Bossuet issued a Vindication. Wake replied in a Defence of his Exposition; Bossuet followed with a Reply; then Wake had a second Defence, and Bossuet a Full answer to the second Defence.

Wake wound up with a State of the Controversy, giving a list of the books written on both sides during its continuance. He earned at any rate the approval

of one worthy critic. Evelyn's entry in his *Diary*[1] for New Year's Day, 1687, is: "Mr. Wake preached at St. Martin's on 1 Timothy iii. 16, concerning the mystery of Godliness. He wrote excellently in answer to the Bishop of Meaux."

Wake's fame as a preacher was fast growing. A volume of sermons published a few years later contains one preached in Paris on 30th January 1685, and another the same year preached at Gray's Inn. He preached for Tenison, his predecessor in the Primacy, then Rector of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields and a leading clergyman, and he was undoubtedly on terms of intimate friendship with him. Evelyn records that on the 20th March 1687 he dined after morning service at Dr. Tenison's with Bishop Ken, "and that young, most learned, pious, and excellent preacher, Mr. Wake." "In the afternoon," he goes on, "I went to hear Mr. Wake at the new built church of St. Anne, on Mark viii. 34, upon the subject of taking up the Cross, and strenuously behaving ourselves in time of persecution as this now threatened to be."

In 1688, on the death of Dr. Clagett, he was chosen preacher of Gray's Inn. The story goes that the Honourable Society had been admonished by James II. not to fill up the preachership till the royal pleasure was known, but they replied that they had already elected Dr. Wake.

The serious position of national and public affairs in the autumn of 1688, though it may have given Wake, then a vigorous and rising man of just over thirty, anxiety, did not prevent his taking the important step of marrying. On the 1st October 1688 he was married at St. Giles-in-the-Fields to Etheldreda, third daughter and co-heiress of Sir William Hovell of Hillingdon or Illington, Norfolk,—Sharp, then Dean of Norwich afterwards Archbishop of York, performing the ceremony. As we shall note later on, Wake had

[1] Evelyn's *Diary*, ii. 264.

a large family, and from his own correspondence we can say without doubt that his domestic life was happy in the highest degree. The Diary of Lady Cowper, the Lord Chancellor's wife, contains mention several times of Mrs. Wake, and the frequent messages from distinguished correspondents of the archbishop occurring in letters preserved among the Wake MSS prove her to have been all an archbishop's wife should be. Certainly the family into which he married connected him with persons in useful, if not distinguished, public service. One sister of his wife married William Folkes, a lawyer of eminence whose son, Martyn Folkes, was President of the Royal Society. The grandson of the other sister was Sir Simeon Stewart, M.P. for Hampshire.

Wake's sympathies were throughout with the Revolution and in opposition to James II. He had written as a very protagonist of anti-Romanism ; and now that in 1689 William and Mary were well settled on the throne, he went rapidly ahead on the road to distinction. On the 20th June 1689 he was appointed a Canon of Christ Church, Oxford ; on the 5th July following he took the degrees of B.D. and D.D., by accumulation going out "Grand Compounder," and about the same time the King and Queen made him Deputy Clerk of the Closet.

In 1693 he published *An English Version of the Genuine Epistles of the Apostolical Fathers*, with a Preliminary Discourse concerning the Right Use of those Fathers,—a book which has always maintained its position as a standard theological work of the Church of England.

In his Preface, Wake gives six reasons for giving weight to the Apostolic Fathers :—

1. They were contemporary with the Apostles and instructed by them.
2. They were men of an eminent character in the Church, and therefore could not be ignorant of what was taught in it.

3. They were careful to preserve the Doctrine of Christ in its purity, and to oppose such as went about to corrupt it.
4. They were men not only of a perfect piety, but of great courage and constancy, and therefore such as cannot be suspected to have had any design to prevaricate in this matter.
5. They were endued with a large portion of the Holy Spirit, and as such could hardly err in what they delivered as the gospel of Christ.
6. Their writings were approved by the Church in those days, which could not be mistaken in its approbation of them.

Wake himself published a new and largely revised edition in 1710. No one seems ever to have belittled Wake's edition of the Fathers, except the renowned Conyers Middleton, 1683–1750. This scholar, the enemy of the great Bentley—"fiddling Conyers," as Bentley called him from his love of music,—to get over the death of his first wife, travelled abroad, and while at Rome conceived a great dislike, first for the miracles of the Romish Church, and afterwards for all miracles. Near the end of his life, in 1784, he published his *Free Enquiry into the Miraculous Powers of the Church*. In their answer to this, Dodwell and Church cited a passage from Wake's version of *St. Clement's Epistle to the Corinthians* as referring to the miraculous gifts of that age. Wake's is undoubtedly a free paraphrase. Clement's words are: "Let a man be faithful. Let him be powerful to utter knowledge. Let him be wise in making an exact judgment of words." Wake's explanations of these are: Of the first, "that is such a faith by which he is able to work miracles; of the second, "that is mystical knowledge," for to that the expression manifestly relates; of the third, "for that was another gift common to those times."

Middleton, who was never silent under attack

or without a reply to those who would have strife with him, admits in his reply that Wake's paraphrase asserts the existence of miraculous powers in that age, but avers he had knowingly omitted the passage from his book through, says he, "a regard for the character of that venerable prelate which made me unwilling to recall into public light a paraphrase which I took to be unworthy of him, and of all others that I had ever observed to be the most palpably forced and dressed up without any ground or colour from the text to serve the point he was inculcating concerning the continuance of the miraculous powers to the times of these apostolic fathers."

There really seems little to cavil at in Wake's paraphrase, taken as a paraphrase. Dodwell and Church's use of Wake's language as a plain reference to miraculous gifts in St. Clement's time seems open to more doubt.

An Act had been passed in the year 1685 in the first Parliament of James II., making part of the parish of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields into a distinct parish of St. James', the Act providing that Dr. Tenison should be Rector of the new parish as well as Vicar of St. Martin's. He held both livings till his appointment as Bishop of Lincoln in January 1692, and six months after *in commendam*. According to the statement by Le Neve,[1] a curious dispute arose as to who was to succeed Tenison both at St. Martin's and St. James'. The Act founding St. James' had given the next Presentation to that Rectory after the death of Tenison or next avoidance to the Bishop of London, who in July 1692 presented Dr. Birch to it. The Crown apparently claimed the right to present, and presented Wake, and the result was, according to Le Neve, a *quare impedit* against the bishop for not admitting Wake on the King's presentation. On the trial of this in the King's Bench the bishop lost, and again on appeal to the Lords. So, on 24th January 1694, Wake was admitted to the

[1] Le Neve's *Protestant Bishops*, 242.

Rectory by the Archbishop of Canterbury, by virtue of a writ from the King's Bench for that purpose.

Wake was a diligent parish priest: in the Preface to the later edition of his Catechism, he says that that work was originally compiled by him for the use of his parishioners, amongst whom he was strenuous in the public catechising of the young on the afternoon of Sunday.

Wake's fame as a preacher was, indeed, now well established. We find him preaching a funeral sermon for Queen Mary in 1694, and again preaching on a Public Fast ordered for 5th April 1699 on behalf of the exiled Vaudois and French Protestants. Perhaps he had learned to sympathise with these latter during his stay in Paris as Preston's chaplain.

On the 16th February 1701, Wake was appointed Dean of Exeter.

It will be remembered that in the great controversy in the closing years of the seventeenth century about Convocation, Wake and Atterbury had written on opposite sides. It is pleasant to know that they were reconciled even before either of them became a bishop. Atterbury seems to have thought he had written too acrimoniously, and to have been anxious for a reconciliation. This was the more desirable, for, as he had been appointed Archdeacon of Totnes in the year Wake went as Dean to Exeter, they were members of the same Chapter. Very properly Trelawney, Bishop of Exeter, seems to have been a go-between. Writing to him in 1704, Atterbury says that a report had got about that he had apologised to Wake for some expressions in his *Rights, Powers, and Privileges of an English Convocation*,[1] acknowledging himself in error in some points in the controversy. A few months later Trelawney forwards a letter of Wake's to Atterbury. In this letter Wake is fearful the old controversy might break out in the Chapter at Exeter. "I am firmly resolved," writes Atterbury, "ever to behave myself

[1] See Lathbury's *Convocation*, 462.

towards the Dean with the respect that is due to his station. As for the dispute about the rights of convocation, your Lordship may depend upon it that, if ever I pursue it, it shall be in as inoffensive a way as is possible, and with a due acknowledgment of the Dean's civilities to me."

In the circumstances in which Anne found herself on coming to the throne, it is not surprising that within three years of her accession Wake was raised to the Episcopal Bench. That he was pious and a theologian of great learning even his enemies, if he had any, could not deny : his reputation as a parish priest and preacher was good. We can well understand how, when multitudes, may we say a majority, of the better sort of clergy had either nonjuror sympathies or were even dallying with the hope or thought of a Jacobite revolution, Anne's advisers were glad to be able to promote to a bishopric one who, with such qualifications for a mitre, was of Whig principles, favourable to Toleration and firmly anti-Jacobite. But his promotion was not a matter of course.

The vacancy arose at Lincoln, where Bishop Gardiner died early in 1705. Anne, though she had not forsaken her Whig ministers or adopted Harley as her friend—and though the great Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough, was not yet supplanted by her own relative Mrs. Masham—was very devoted to her Church principles, and was anxious to put Sir William Dawes, a strong Tory, at Lincoln. The biographer of Archbishop Sharp says : " Dawes[1] was a man of most noble presence, with every grace of voice and manner ; also a man of gravity and prudence, of decency and courtesy, of singular presence of mind, of extraordinary resolution and constancy, of exemplary regularity and exactness in all parts of life."

But Dawes had to wait : in Anne's more serious relapse from Whiggism three years later, he was made

[1] *Biog. Brit.*, 4088.

Bishop of Chester, and ended his days at York. It was not the moment then for so violent a Tory as the majestic, courtly Dawes to be promoted. On the 30th January 1705 he had preached before the Queen, and had given utterance to most uncompromising views about Divine right and non-resistance. There was still a Pretender over the water, and Harley and St. John, moderate Tories, as well as Marlborough and Godolphin, Whigs, were frightened; so Wake was appointed.

So far back as March 1705, Tenison had written to Wake, sounding him as to his acceptance of the vacant see. They had been friends, as we have seen, and fellow-workers in London. If Wake was generally esteemed, he had no stronger admirer than the Primate.

"Your friends hope," writes Tenison from Lambeth, "that you will let them know by me without loss of time whether you would accept of the Bishopric of Lincoln with a living *in Commendam* for one year if they can procure it. . . . I am in pain till I hear from you, because I am press'd by them. I hope you will not say No."—Yr loving brother,

"T. Canterbury."[1]

The original letter, according to Wake's custom, bears a careful endorsement in Wake's own hand: "The archbp proposes the Bprick of Lincoln to me with ye commendam."

Letters from all quarters pressed him to accept Lincoln. He seems to have demurred. Chaslett, the Master of University College, Oxford, writes with what seems undue severity, referring to his 'repeated tergiversations and demurs,' and goes on: "You will be much reproached by all yr friends if you neglect this opportunity to serve so considerable a part of the English Church, so intolerably neglected by Bishop Barlow." Barlow had been one of the six bishops—Parker of Oxford, Crewe of Durham, Wood of Lichfield (suspended for immorality), and Watson of St. David's

[1] Wake Corr., 1705.

(deprived for simony)—who had thanked James II. for his Declaration of Indulgence.[1]

When he had accepted, many congratulations flowed in. That from Burnet of Salisbury is interesting :

"SALISBURY, *Michaelmas Day*, 1705.

"MY DEAR LORD,—I do sincerely congratulate not so much to yourself as to the Church, and particularly to our whole order, the honour of having you one of it. And tho' you have a very laborious post in the vineyard and but small encouragement proportioned to the greatness of the labour, yet I am confident you who have hitherto laboured so eminently as well as successfully in the former degree will shine as bright in the higher and be an example to your brethren in it. I humbly thank you for the honour you do me in desiring me to assist at y^r^ consecration, where I am sure the greater will be blessed of the lesser. I will come up as soon as you tell me the day is fixed. . . . I hope you are to be more and more a blessing to this Church, which God knows wants faithfull labourers. That you may be blessed in your Labours is the earnest praier of my dear Lord.—Your most obedient and most humble servant and brother, G. SARUM." [2]

"Mrs. Burnet sends both you and your good lady her most hearty respects and service, to which I crave leave to join mine."

"Bp of Sarum at my consecration," is Wake's endorsement.

His brethren of Ely, Carlisle, and Worcester wrote him letters of congratulation.

Wake was installed on the 16th January 1706, and he carefully preserves the forms used, also a note of the fees amounting to £18 16s. on his enthronisation to the Dean and Chapter, the Chapter Clerk, Vicars Choral, including a payment in lieu of a collation to the Vicars Choral. He, after a year, took up his residence at Buckden, the Bishop of Lincoln's palace.

[1] Hore's *Hist. Eng. Church*, i. 19. [2] Wake MSS, 1705.

The Wake MSS, now preserved in Christchurch Library at Oxford, supply evidence that Wake was careful and diligent as a bishop. It seems to have been his practice himself to endorse every official letter or document coming to his hands with a note of its purport —often a draft answer in his own writing, much corrected and revised, is appended. Of these originals twenty-five folio-bound volumes are now at Christ Church, seven dealing with Lincoln and ten with Canterbury. Much of them is what any careful bishop's correspondence would show—questions of tithes, repairs of vicarages, contributions to churches and schools, dispensations for non-residence, presentations to livings ; many documents are of more particular interest.

Samuel Wesley, father of the great John and Charles, was a beneficed clergyman in the Lincoln diocese, and very early in Wake's episcopate he got into correspondence with the bishop. Wesley, who had fallen into great pecuniary difficulties, largely through his numerous family,—the great Charles, the hymn-writer, was his eighteenth child,—published a poem on the battle of Blenheim, for which Marlborough gave him the chaplaincy of a regiment ; but in June 1705 he was imprisoned in Lincoln Castle for debt, and remained there for seven months. Wake preserved a long letter from him, dated Lincoln Castle, 4th October 1705, which begins :

" I don't care to write to your Lordship the first time from this place, but would fain have gott outt before I had troubled you with these impertinences. Tho' now I see, I amn't likely to stir in haste but must make a winter campaign here, I can no longer deny myself the Honour of congratulating your Lordship's promotion to a higher order in the Church of God, and especially that my own Lot is fallen under your Lordship's paternal care."[1]

Wesley goes on to attribute his troubles to the Dissenters, who were angry at the books he had written about them. He says : " I saw the growing power and

[1] Wake MSS, 1705.

insolence of the Dissenters and their party, and that the Church, the Clergy, and the Universities were every day insulted in their writings." Wesley had accordingly written to the Whig candidate in his constituency, who happened to be a friend, explaining why he could not vote for him. His friends the Dissenters and their adherents reported that there was treason in what Wesley wrote . . . "and threatened to send up my letter, with such a Recommendation," he goes on, "as sh[d] doe my business and turn me out of the Regiment which the Duke of Marlborough had given me and that after this they'd throw me into gaol; and have, I thank 'em, bin as good as their words in both. They disturbed me and another clergyman in the Church at Divine Service, proclaimed me by name Rogue and Rascal at the head of the mob, tho' I never affronted 'em, as I never shunn'd 'em; shouted, huzza'd, drum'd, and fired guns and pistols night and day under my windows where my wife was newly laid in childbed (of our sixteenth child), called to my children in the yard, 'Ye devils, weel come and turn ye all out o' doors a-begging shortly!' (what had those Lambs done?). For the finishing stroke they threw me into gaol here for a debt to a Relation of that person to whom I wrote the letter which they might easily doe when they had sunk what little credit my many misfortunes had left me by taking away my regiment." His adversary insisted he must pay or else go on to prison; "whither," says he, "I came with a cheerful heart and a very light pocket (a little more than paid my garnish and saved me from stripping). I find a gaol is not so dismall a place as 'tis painted, and that one may serv God as well here as at liberty and perhaps better or else I believ I should never have been sent hither. . . . I read Prayers to my Fellow-prisoners twice a day and preach on Sundays. Most of 'em are outwardly more civilised than when I came hither and I hope some are really better, which if I were sure of, twould make this place not only tolerable but comfortable to me."

He goes on to say "how his enemies had stabb'd his cows so as to starve his family who had 'had but three joints of meat for several weeks after his incarceration.'" He winds up, "Our people in the Castle are desirous of a sacrament; 'tis exempt from any parish: if your Lordship please to give me leave I'll administer it with due caution as to the people I admit."

The letter is signed: "Sam Wesley, Prisoner."

Wake seems to have answered kindly, and to have given directions as to the Communion Service in the prison, for, on the 11th November 1705, Wesley writes from Epworth to Wake as follows:

"My Lord,—I humbly hope yr Lordship's pardon for my making no speedier return to the Favour of yr Lordship's which I received in prison; which delay was partly owing to the hurry of my affairs and partly to my desire to send the news of my liberty and being restored by the signal Providence of God and the kindness of my Friends to my own Family and cure with most of my debts pay'd and sufficient in good hands at least to clear the rest: nor can I be more careful than I was formerly, tho' I can now afford to be a better husband.

"I owe yr Lordship an acct of what happened in my prison in pursuance of yr Lordship's permission to me to administer the Sacrament there on Mr. Chanter's consent. I took the method which I promis'd and which I wish were practicable in other places especially when persons first receiv. Having read the Exhortation and preach'd twice on the Sacrament, those who were desirous to communicate were with me the week before, and having made myself pretty well acquainted with their circumstances I gave them the best advice I could: they recd with great appearance of seriousness and devotion. . . . I preach'd my last sermon wherein I took my leave of 'em from 107 Psalm 15–16 v. and hope by the sorrow they generally express'd at my leaving 'em that it has not bin altogether my own fault if I have had more enemys in other places. The chief subject of their Lamentation was that they must now be depriv'd of those constant prayers and sermons which they had for some time enjoy'd. I must own my Lord! that this did sensibly affect me. . . . I wish with all my heart it were in my

power still to assist those poor creatures with what they most need . . . Your Lordship says in yours you desire they might have these things constantly performed. . . . tho' I live at twenty miles distance and som of the way is very bad I wou'd freely do my part and more gladly preach my course in the Castle Four times a year than in the Minster for the best Prebend there." After saying that his chief opponent in the parish had died, "this," he goes on, "left my people at liberty to shew their inclinations on my return, which they did by coming to meet me in considerable numbers and conducting me home. So tender a father as your Lordship will easily guess what a meeting I had with my family."

He goes on to ask for directions as to baptizing children where one or both of the parents stands excommunicate.

Wake's endorsement is :

"Answer'd Jan. 3.

"Congratulate his enlargement. Thank him for his service in prison. Approved his project, which I this night proposed by letter to the Chaunter. Gave him leave to baptize adults, keeping a particular register of 'em and exhibiting their names at the Bp's visitation."

"Advised to baptize the children of excommunicate persons not being heretics or schismatics ; but especially where one of the parents was not excommunicate."

There is a letter of Samuel Wesley from Epworth, 4th August 1712, to Wake, in which, after thanking the bishop for visiting and confirming at Epworth, he wishes that the bishop's directions had been followed at the Confirmation :

"for want of requiring the names of the candidates to be given in by the Clergyman great numbers were confirmed here who ought not to have bin (and I know 'tis the same in other places and dioceses). Many of them had been before, some of them twice or thrice over, and others who were no ways fit for it."

He refers to the charge which Wake had delivered at his visitation, and says that he is "so unhappy as to differ from your Lordship in the point of the validity of

Lay Baptism. . . . For this reason I earnestly wish I cd see a copy of yr Lordship's arguments which it was hardly possible to weigh as one ought at once hearing."

The draft or note of Wake's reply in his own handwriting is :

" For the business of my charge, it having never yet been written, cannot be communicated to you. Some few heads and the words of such quotations as I designed to make use of were set down in a small Leaf or two within the cover of my Visitation booke ; but that was all. . . .

" As to the subject of my Discourse you may remember that my businesse was not to enter into the merits of the cause but to shew wt had been and still continues to be ye sense and practice of the Ch of E in the particulars spoken to by me. And I think 'tis clear even to Demonstration that she utterly forbids any but a lawful Minister to baptize, yet she allows not of any to be re-baptized who have been baptized with water and the due form established by our Saviour, which alone she declares to be the essential parts of baptism.

" For myself I openly profess'd, as you may well remember, my utter dislike of lay and schismatical Baptisms. . . . If the Ch of E shall think fit without declaring such Baptisms to be utterly null (which is merely a point of speculation and wd be contrary to the sense as well as practice of the Ch confessed by Mr. Dodwell from the 10th century downward) to order persons so baptized to be hypothetically re-baptized I shall submit to her orders so made tho' I cannot join in the making of such a constitution. But while instead thereof her orders and practice both run the other way, while she only disallows the practice of Lay Baptism, but does not annull the Act, but pursuant to the whole course of antiqy plainly allows of it, I think it my duty to conform myself to her Directions and to give notice to my clergy that I cannot consent to their Departure from them."

In April 1706 he receives from the archbishop the notice from the Privy Council requiring the clergy to give an " exact and particular " account of the Papists

and reputed Papists in every parish with their "qualities, estates, and places of abode, also of the livings in their gift." The Archdeacon of Leicester returns, for the eleven parishes in his archdeaconry, in all thirty-five Papists or reputed Papists, most of them of humble station. The Archdeacon of Bedford returns for a parish called Turvey three or four families tenants to Lord Peterboro, in his four other parishes about five Papists or reputed Papists. The Minister of St. Martin's, Leicester, is very general in his return, "one feme covert."

Wake's connection with Samuel Wesley was actively renewed in the autumn of 1709. There exists a petition of seven of the leading inhabitants of Epworth, dated October 28th,[1] in that year, asking the bishop's help to buy a house for the "sober, religious, and industrious Schoolmaster" they had in their village who had been offered a school "with a house with a settled salary at another place." Poor Wesley's troubles seem to have continued, for the petition states "our Rector, who had subscribed £5, has withdrawn his subscription since the late misfortune of his House."

Wake as bishop was careful in admitting candidates to Holy Orders, as appears from the two following letters, the former of which is to him from a gentleman of title:

"This waits upon your Lordship on ye behalf of the bearer my brother, who had the misfortune to be turn'd back last ordinat^{n}. I doe not in the least doubt yr Lordship's justice, but I have reason to believe my brother was treated with some severity by those who gave an account to you of his performance. I beg leave therefore to acquaint yr Ldship with it; and hope your goodness will pardon this piece of presumption."

The annexed draft reply runs:

"Pursuant to your desire I this day sent for the young gent alone into my study, Mr. Archdeacon and my Chaplain being with me and witnesses of wt pass'd.

[1] Wake MSS, 1709.

After having made a short experiment of him in the Greek Testament, I proceeded to examine him in English, and only in the Articles of the Apostles' Creed in order as they are. I asked no questions out of the way, but only the plain sense and meaning of each article without entering into any further particulars concerning them. Some few proofs of Scre (Scripture) I put him upon where the passages were ordinary to everybody who knew anything at all of these matters; but not otherwise. I am sorry to say, and upon the whole, he appeared to all of us by no means qualified for Holy Orders; and Mr. Archdeacon profess'd he could not present him according to the solemn form which our Ch requires; nor indeed could I think myselfe at liberty to ordain him if he would. I verily believe the young gent (whom I heartily pitty) has done his utmost to fit himselfe for the sacred Ministry. But I fear it will be difficult for him so far to overcome the natural defects he has to struggle with as ever to attain to any suitable qualifications for it. This makes me earnestly wish some other more suitable businesse might be found out for him."

The "Religious Societies" established at the close of the seventeenth century in London, of which the Societies for the Reformation of Manners were an offshoot, had by 1712, as Mr. Hore says, spread "to almost every large town of England."[1] On the 8th November 1712 the Rector of Hertford writes to the Bishop of Lincoln:

"I think it my duty to acquaint your Lordship that there are several well disposed young men in my parish members of the Ch of England who have lately begun to meet together once a week as a Religious Society after the manner of those in London. They desire that I wd encourage them by coming amongst them, and that I wd let them meet in the Church." After saying that some of his parishioners and others have no good opinion of these societies, he proceeds: "I crave your Lordship's pardon for troubling you with this and another case which is as follows. The Barbers in my parish do all absent themselves from publick

[1] i. 169.

worship on the Lord's Day in the mornings, having their customers in the time of Divine Service. . . . I am not satisfied to administer the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper to any of these men in their sickness unless they profess themselves penitent for this fault."

There is no draft of Wake's reply ; his note on the letter is : " Mr. Hallows : ab^{t} Societies : Barbers trimming on Sundays, etc." There was, it is well known, considerable opposition on the part of Churchmen to the Societies. Tenison, as we have seen, supported them, but so good a man as Sharp, Archbishop of York, was timid about them.

Nothing Wake did was surface or " shop window " work. We find him having laborious search made for Precedents of Patents and Forms of Licences in his Registries. Three or four of his immediate predecessors, Barlow, Neal, Montaign, supplied no precedent. There seems to have been a question as to the extent and origin of his archdeacon's jurisdiction. Inquiries were made of brother bishops and men of learning ; not much more answer was forthcoming than that " the bishop was the fountain of all ecclesiastical jurisdiction and authority."

Wake held his first visitation in 1706. His " Articles of Visitation and Enquiry " were exhaustive. The answers are annotated largely in his own hand. Some of his clergy, as Samuel Wesley, were zealous and efficient ; but there was much neglect. Over and over again the note on a parish is as follows : " only a deacon," " parsonage house demolished." Others are, " a very litigious naughty man," " reputed an ill man." " Christens children and churches women in his house ; makes his clerk read prayers at church, etc.; he is much afflicted with the gout, and is a rich man."

One of the archdeacons supplies general answers to the visitation inquiries for his archdeaconry. After having viewed, as he says, about half the churches— to the inquiry about the Font, the answer is in many

places; " Baptism is administered in a borrowed basin placed in the Font." " The Communion tables are generally mean and used by the Glaziers for the working of their glasse and by schoolboys for writing. I have discouraged the keeping of School in the Church." " In some places ye Sacrament hath not been administered three times a year for want of a Congregation, as is pretended." " The office of ye Visitation of ye sick is generally complained of as imperfect; and ye clergy do use a greater liberty than ye office directs." There is a case of a clergyman having married his deceased wife's sister, probably the one mentioned later: " The Iniquity is of twenty-six years' continuance " is the note.

Other visitations were in 1709 and 1712, with a curtailed but still very exhaustive set of questions. The notes in Wake's own handwriting show scrupulous care.

There are several communications in the Wake MSS from Tenison signed " T. Canterbury " or " Tho. Canterbury "—the archbishop's handwriting becoming in the later ones almost illegible. In July 1706 he sends on the Privy Council's demand for the particulars of Papists and reputed Papists, especially in exempt parishes; and again in August 1711 he endorses and sends on the letter which the Queen had addressed to him as " her right trusty and right entirely beloved Councellor," in which she enjoined him to stir up his suffragans and through them the clergy generally to put " a timely stop to ye further growth of infidelity and profaneness, to watch diligently over their flocks, to be exemplary in their lives, and frame their public Discourses to the people on such subjects as do tend most to edification." Wake in September 1711 sends this on with a most urgent letter on his own behalf: he does not think the clergy's " conversation " is generally at fault; he is " more doubtful " whether the Canon regulating " the habit " of the clergy is as well observed,

On the importance of a clergyman's family and household being a model he is very strong.

Wake had at this time a house in Dean's Yard, Westminster; but he was pretty constantly resident at Buckden. No one reading the contemporary documents can fail to be struck with the frequent mention of the roads being "unpassable."

A point to which Wake invariably drew the attention of his clergy was the regular catechising of the children. In 1708 he republished a new edition of his *Principles of the Christian Religion in a Brief Commentary on the Church Catechism*, addressing it to the Archdeacons and rest of the Clergy of the Diocese of Lincoln. In the preface he states the work to have been "composed and published some years ago for the use of my parish. It is now reprinted for the benefit of my Diocese." The work is in six parts, in the form of question and answer on the Catechism. It is fortified copiously with Scripture texts in the margin. Points of difference with the Roman Doctrine, *e.g.* the administration of the Communion in one kind to the laity, are by no means omitted. In an address circulated by one of his archdeacons among the clergy he says, after emphasising the necessity of public catechising:

"Accordingly his Lordship has ordered his Bookseller to print his own Catechism by way of subscription at a third part of ye price any former impressions have been sold at; and has made it ye peculiar priviledge of his Diocese to have ye copies at so cheap a rate that it will not be difficult to provide for yr families in most parishes with little charge to ye Incumbents." He reports to the bishop near 2000 subscriptions.

The letter to the bishop enclosing the archidiaconal circular tells how some "physick" designed for the palace at Buckden had gone wrong, and a postscript says: "As to ye Physick the Dose is from half a teaspoonful to a whole one taken every other night in a glasse of warm ale at going to bed till ye pains are removed."

The incidents of Wake's episcopate are probably much like those any bishop's diary in any age would record; but they are quaint to read of. A parson has a feud with his squire based on glebe and tithe questions. The squire's patience is exhausted and he sends items of complaint to the bishop. "He (the parson) has prosecuted Labourers for profaning the Lord's Day, but he himself has confess'd yt he has killed hares upon that day." The bishop, as a fair judge, submits the complaints to the vicar for his answers. "As for killing of Hares upon ye Lord's Day he denys it; he owns that he and his clerk were going along once; a hare started up before them and he clapd his clerk upon ye back and said, 'There she goes.'"

Nothing can give a greater idea of the careful, thorough, scholarly man Wake was than the papers still extant dealing with a case of one of his clergy. He had married Mary K—— and had several children by her. She died in 1680, and in 1682 he married Dorothy K——, her sister. There is in Wake's own hand first of all a sheet containing a note of the facts, specifying the witnesses to each material allegation of fact, and also rough heads of the points to be dealt with by the judgment. Then there is a draft, carefully corrected and settled, of the judgment to be pronounced, with elaborate notes of the statutes, the canons, and authorities, all in Wake's own hand. "Suppose him married yt does not excuse, rather in some respects it aggravates, the offence: it adds profanation of ye Holy Ordinance of Matrimony to ye ends of a most unwarrantable incontinency." "Canon prohibit: maxime vero siquis priore uxore demortua ejus sororem uxorem duxerit."

Wake's action in Parliament while Bishop of Lincoln was on at least two occasions worthy of particular note. The first and by far the most important was his support of the Ministry in their attempt—ill-advised as it ultimately proved—to impeach the notorious Dr. Sacheverell. The Ministers, who initiated the attack on

the Doctor, were Whigs. In 1703 and 1704 Marlborough, who was interested in nothing but carrying on the war with and winning his splendid victories over Louis XIV. and the French, had got rid of the High Tories Rochester and Nottingham. Harley and St. John came in, their Toryism being sufficiently mild to enable them to serve with Godolphin and Marlborough. In 1705 Nottingham and the High Tories had raised the cry of the "Church in Danger," but without any marked success, the debate in Parliament ending in Rochester's motion to this effect being lost. The Parliament of 1705 was more Whig than its predecessor, and gradually by the end of 1709 a set of Whig Ministers, Marlborough, Sunderland (his son-in-law), Godolphin, Somers, and Wharton were in power.

Meanwhile what of the clergy. Twenty years had passed since the Revolution. There were various causes which had tended to weaken the Jacobite sympathies which the clergy had shown during the first half of this period. Anne was a devoted Churchwoman: James II. was dead; the cause of the Pretender was espoused by Louis of France, with whom England had fought, was fighting, and was likely to fight. There were plottings; but they were not so serious as when in 1671 so good a man as Turner, Bishop of Ely—Ken's schoolfellow and intimate friend—had narrowly escaped with his life—only, in fact, because of William's freedom from vindictiveness—for plotting to bring over Louis and a French army to set up James again; or, as in 1696; when Collier and Snatt, non-juring clergymen, gave public absolution to Friend and Perkins, executed for plotting Williams' assassination.

But though willing to accept the Hanoverian Settlement, the bulk of the clergy were not disposed to show any consideration to the Dissenters. The Toleration Act they grudgingly accepted: but thus far and no further; they were the backbone of the High Tory party which year after year passed in the

Commons the Act to punish occasional Conformity. Of comprehension they would have nothing, and the repeal of the Test Act was almost too horrible to be thought of.

And yet the Whigs were bound to help the Dissenters. So it was resolved to take a step; and that step was to impeach Sacheverell.

Of course the impeachment was a failure. Somers, perhaps the most level-headed of the Ministers, was against it. Public sympathy was soon against it. Sacheverell's sermon was sold to the number of 40,000 copies in a few days. He, with but a sorry stock of deserts, became a popular hero. Why was this? Granted that the country clergy would like the flavour of Sacheverell's doctrine, why the man in the street? Probably the heavy taxation for the war, and the fierce attacks of the Tory preachers had some part in this result. But the fact seemed to be Sacheverell had attacked the Dissenters. By attacking him, Ministers took up a brief for them. Though the man in the street felt no sympathy for the clergy in their leanings to Jacobitism or even nonjuring, in their dislike for Dissenters he was with them. The Dissenters having got Toleration, had got quite enough. Now to the story itself.

Dr. Henry Sacheverell was a Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford, and Chaplain of St. Saviour's, Southwark. He was and had long been a pillar of High Toryism. He was not a man of great intellect, but he was big in voice as he was in person, and his power of invective was considerable. He had preached the Assize Sermon at Derby, in the summer of 1709, and on the 5th November he preached before the Lord Mayor and Aldermen. His text was "In perils among false brethren," 2 Cor. xi. 26. The main points of the sermon were the duty of absolute non-resistance; the sin of dissent from the Church: the evil of schemes for Toleration and Comprehension. In its language

it was highly seasoned. "The grand security of our Government, and the very pillar upon which it stands, is founded upon the steady belief of the subjects of obligation to an absolute and unconditional obedience to the Supreme Power in all things lawful, and the utter illegality of Resistance upon any pretence whatever." Ministers were styled the false brethren, putting the Church in peril—"who," said the preacher, "let her worst enemies into her bowels under the holy umbrage of sons who neither believe her faith, own her mission, submit to her discipline, nor comply with her Liturgy. To admit this Religious Trojan Horse, big with arms and ruin into our Holy City, the strait gate must be laid quite open, her walls and inclosures pulled down, an high road made in and upon her Communion and the pure spouse of Christ prostituted to more adulterers than the scarlet whore in the Revelation. Since this model of a universal liberty and coalition failed, and these false brethren could not carry the conventicle into the Church, they are now resolved to bring the Church into the conventicle, which will more probably really effect her ruin."

Ministers were even more pointedly struck at. "If upon all occasions to comply with the Dissenters, both in public and private affairs as persons of tender conscience and piety, to promote their interests in Elections, to sneak to 'em for Places and Preferment, to defend Toleration and Liberty of conscience, and under the pretence of Moderation to excuse their separation and lay the fault upon the true sons of the Church for carrying matters too high, . . . if these, I say, are the modish and fashionable criteria of a True Churchman, God deliver us from all such false brethren." In another passage he reviled the Statesmen who sought or even accepted the support of Dissenters, inveighing against "the crafty insidiousness of such modern Volpones."

This was the last straw. Volpone was a contemptible character in Ben Jonson's play of the *Fox*. Godolphin thought he was hit at under this name, and was furious. So on 13th December, Mr. Dolben, member for Liskeard, whose father had been Archbishop of York, made a complaint in the Commons of the two sermons, extracts from which were read. They were resolved to be seditious libels. Sacheverell and the printer attended, and after the discussion the Doctor's Impeachment by the Commons at the Bar of the Lords was ordered. The usual lengthy proceedings of Articles of Impeachment, Answer, and Replication were gone through. Counsel were assigned to the accused, Sir Simon Harcourt and Mr. Phipps, who were assisted by Atterbury, Smallridge, and Friend as divines. Ultimately the trial began on Monday, 27th February, in the presence of a huge concourse. The Doctor was attended by a cheering crowd from his lodgings in the Temple to Westminster Hall. The Managers of the trial on behalf of the Commons were Sir Joseph Jekyll, Eyre Solicitor-General, Sir Peter King the Recorder, Lieut.-General Stanhope afterwards Lord Stanhope, Sir Thomas Parker, and Walpole. They presented four Articles of Impeachment,[1] charging the Doctor—

1. With asserting that the means used to bring about the Revolution were odious and unjustifiable.
2. With condemning the Toleration granted by law.
3. With asserting that the Church was in danger.
4. With maliciously asserting that her Majesty's present advisers were false brethren and traitors to the constitution in Church and State.

The Managers were four days in opening their case ;

[1] Smollett's *Hist. of Eng.*, x. 35.

then came Counsel for the accused, the defence winding up with a speech by Sacheverell, said to have been written by Atterbury.

On 16th March the Lords took into consideration whether the Commons had established their articles. The second article was the one which it was Wake's lot to deal with, and it raised the whole question of Toleration, and incidentally of Comprehension. The article itself was in the following terms. It said that in his St. Paul's sermon Dr. Sacheverell asserted and maintained that the toleration granted by law is unreasonable and the allowance of it unwarrantable, and asserted that he is a false brother with relation to God, religion, and the Church who defends toleration or liberty of conscience: that Queen Elizabeth was deluded by Archbishop Grindal, whom he scurrilously called "a false son of the Church, and a perfidious apostate" to the toleration of the Genevan discipline, and that it is the duty of superior pastors to thunder out their ecclesiastical anathemas against persons entitled to the benefit of the said toleration and insolently dares or defies any powers on earth to reverse such sentence."

It is perhaps amusing to note that in his answer to the second article the Doctor, as to so much of the second Article as referred to Elizabeth and Archbishop Grindal, "presumed that no words spoken of an archbishop above one hundred and twenty years since deceased will in construction of law amount to a high crime and misdemeanour."

This article Wake opened on the 17th March in a long and able speech which has always been considered of especial interest as giving for the first time a detailed account of the efforts for Comprehension made by and under Sancroft.

Wake began by repudiating the idea that in defending toleration shown by law to Dissenters, bishops were "apostates to their own order." He then refers to the

article, and says that he thinks "the Managers have fully made it out" not by implication or piecing together disjointed passages, but "by the plain words and necessary meaning of a large part of the Discourse." He then asks leave to point out what a strange account the preacher had given of "that other popular engine which he says has been made use of to pull down the Church and which he calls by the name of Comprehension." Then comes the passage about Sancroft, which is in the following words :

"The person who first concerted this supposed design against our Church was the late most reverend Dr. Sancroft, then Archbishop of Canterbury. The time was towards the end of that unhappy reign of which so much was said upon the occasion of the foregoing article. Then when we were in the height of our labours defending the Church of England against the assaults of popery and thought of nothing else, that wise prelate, foreseeing some such revolution as soon after was happily brought about, began to consider how utterly unprepared they had been at the restoration of King Charles the Second to settle many things to the advantage of the Church and what a happy opportunity had been lost for want of such a previous care as he was therefore desirous should now be taken for the better and more perfect establishment of it. It was visible to all the nation that the more moderate dissenters were generally so well satisfied with that stand which our divines had made against popery and the many unanswerable treatises they had published in confutation of it as to express an unusual readiness to come in to us. And it was therefore thought worth the while when they were deliberating about those other matters to consider at the same time what might be done to gain them without doing any prejudice to ourselves. The scheme was laid out, and the several parts of it were committed not only with the approbation but by the direction of that great prelate to such of our divines as were thought the most proper to be entrusted with it.

"His grace took one part to himself. Another was committed to a then pious and reverend dean, afterwards a bishop of our Church (Dr. Patrick, Bishop of

Ely). The reviewing of the daily service of our Liturgy and the Communion book was referred to a select number of excellent persons, two of which are at this time upon our bench (the Archbishop of York and Bishop of Ely), and I am sure will bear witness to the truth of my relation. The design was in short this: to improve and, if possible, to enforce our discipline; to review and enlarge our Liturgy; by correcting of some things, by adding of others; and if it should be thought advisable by authority when this matter should come to be legally considered, first in convocation, then in parliament, by leaving some few ceremonies confessed to be indifferent in their natures as indifferent in their usage so as not to be necessarily observed by those who made a scruple of them; until they should be able to overcome either their weaknesses or prejudices and be willing to comply with them."

What, the speaker goes on to ask, was there in such a design that was prejudicial to our Church? "How would our excellent Liturgy have been the worse if a few more doubtful expressions had been made plainer or clearer and a passage or two which, however capable of a just defence, yet, in many cases, seem hard even to members of our own Communion, had either been wholly left at liberty in such cases to be omitted altogether or been so qualified as to remove all exception against them in any case." Even under William and Mary any scheme for Comprehension was submitted to the two Convocations.

Wake then goes through the sermon and calls attention to such phrases as Ecclesiastical Ahitophels which the preacher had used. And the Toleration complained of was the Toleration of Dissenters—not of Atheists, Deists, Socinians; men of no principles, perhaps of no religion. Wake quotes copiously from the sermon, and moves that the second article had been proved.

There was a long and confused wrangle how the questions at issue were to be voted on or determined by the House. It at last determined that the answer

to be given by each Lord should be 'guilty' or 'not guilty' only. Against the protest of thirty-four Lords, the question put was, "Is Henry Sacheverell, D.D., guilty of high crimes and misdemeanour charged upon him by the Impeachment of the House of Commons?" Sixty-nine voted guilty, and fifty-two not guilty. The bishops were almost equally divided. Chester, Bath and Wells, Rochester, London and Durham, and the Archbishop of York voting not guilty; seven, including Wake, voting guilty.

After a day's adjournment the House considered the sentence to be passed. It was first proposed that he should be enjoined from preaching for seven years. This was carried, three being substituted for seven.

It was next proposed that he should be made incapable of receiving any other ecclesiastical benefice for three years. This was negatived. A proposal that the Doctor should be imprisoned in the Tower for three months and until he find sureties for good behaviour was dropped. Finally it was carried that his two sermons should be burned by the Common Hangman at the Royal Exchange. It is not surprising that the comment of some contemporary writers on the whole trial should be *Parturiunt montes*.

The second occasion to be noted of Wake's parliamentary conduct as Bishop of Lincoln is over Bolingbroke's Schism Bill in 1714.

During Anne's last days she was in the hands, as we have noted, first of Oxford and Bolingbroke, and afterwards of Bolingbroke alone. It was part of the policy of these Tory Ministers to weaken the Whigs by repressive legislation so as to compel the new Hanoverian sovereign, Whig though he was known to be, to employ Tory Ministers.

Introduced into the Commons by the celebrated Tory, Sir William Wyndham, in May 1714 the Schism Bill got through the House in spite of much opposition. It forbade any one keeping a school without a licence

from the bishop. In fact, through Queen Anne's death the Act never came into actual operation.

Wake opposed the Bill, and seems to have been keenly interested in the opposition, which is the more surprising as a few years later he opposed the repeal of the Act. He made a note in his own writing of the proceedings in the Lords on the 15th June 1914. It is headed :

" The question was put whether the Bill with the amendment should pass. Resolved in the affirmative, viz. " 79 affirm., 71 neg."

Wake either drafted or copied out the protest against the Bill in eight clauses. Number 3 says :

" If neverthelesse the Dissenters were dangerous, Severity is not so proper and effectual a method to reduce them to the Church as Charitable Indulgence ; as is manifest by experience, there having been more Dissenters reconciled to the Church since the Act of Toleration than in all the time since the Act of Uniformity to the time of the first Act of Toleration, and there is scarce one considerable family in England in Communion with the Dissenters. Severity may make them hypocrites but not converts."

In March 1712 we find Samuel Wesley again writing to Wake. As to five points in the bishop's letter to his clergy, Wesley says : " I've neither sufficient presence of mind nor readiness of expression personally to discourse these matters as I ought with your Lordship." As to one point, he says :

" I read Public Prayers on Litany Days and on Sundays and Holy Days, but not on their eves, for which I have no better excuse than the old one, Want of Company. My children are small, my House far from ye Church, the way in winter almost impassable."

He begs Wake to visit and confirm at the Isle of Oxholm in Wesley's parish. He says :

" 'Tis very populous for its extent of ground and

consists, I think, of about 10,000 souls. It is impossible for us to get any number of our people over the Trent (unless it be at an election). I had but a very few at the last Confirmcon. I don't expect I can persuade the 10th part of my people who need it and are otherwise fit for it to take the journey. Most of 'em are poor and must be forc'd to foot it. . . . They seem to beseech your Lordship to come over into Macedonia and help them. If your Lordship is not for returning to Gainsboro' at night I believe there are some gentlemen in the Isle who wou'd take it as a great honour to entertain an Angel in their houses—tho' not unawares." Samuel Wesley had before this been elected a Proctor in Convocation.

Wake is said to have behaved liberally in the maintenance and repair of the houses and buildings belonging to the Episcopal and other offices he held, and it is recorded that: "Budgen, the seat of the Bishops of Lincoln, can boast that the Episcopal house was never so well repaired and decently fitted up as while His Grace was the watchful overseer of the diocese."[1] When Wake became archbishop he was succeeded at Lincoln by Dr. Gibson, who had been Archbishop Tenison's resident Chaplain at Lambeth. There is a letter from him to Wake, dated the 28th July 1716, written after Gibson had been appointed Wake's successor at Lincoln, and after Gibson and his wife had paid a visit of inspection to the palace at Buckden belonging to the bishops of Lincoln. He reports "we found the house and gardens in complete repair." So satisfactory was the inspection of the house at Buckden, that Gibson says of it: "We had much adoe to keep our servants from saying one to another that it is a more desirable dwelling than Lambeth House."

Wake had a good deal to do with the finishing of St. Paul's Cathedral. The Act of Parliament had confided the charge of this work to a body of Commissioners. As the Cathedral approached completion

[1] See Mill's *Essay on Generosity and Public Spirit*, dedicated to Wake.

suggestions were freely made that there had been frauds on the Commissioners in the course of the operations. Even the great Wren was said to have misconducted himself.[1] A sub-committee to whom the Commissioners delegated the task of examining into these charges made their report, dated the 28th June 1715. The Report said they had reason to complain of Wren as "obstructing the business of the Church" and "suffering by a very faulty neglect great frauds and abuses to be committed," yet considering his great age and the reputation he has been so long possessed of they were desirous to "spare his name," but made grave charges of corruption and incompetence against Bateman, his assistant surveyor. Informations were framed against the latter, who put in an answer to them. These, with the sub-committee's reply, were delivered to the Bishop of London, who was desired to lay them before his Grace of Canterbury.

Wake preserved among his papers a very interesting memorial by Sir Christopher Wren, relating to the adorning of the new St. Paul's Cathedral. The Commissioners had passed a Resolution that a "Balustrade of Stone be set up on the Top of the Church" unless Wren certified within a fortnight that it was contrary to the principles of architecture. Wren said: "I never designed a Balustrade. Persons of little skill in architecture did expect, I believe, to see something they had been used to in Gothic structures, and Ladys think nothing well without an edging. A Balustrade is suppos'd a sort of plinth above the upper Colonade. . . . In the inward angles, where the Pilasters cannot be doubled as before they were, the two voids or open spaces would meet in the angle with one small Pilaster between and create a very disagreeable mixture. . . . There is already over the Entablature a proper Plinth which regularly terminates the whole building, and as no provision was originally made in my plan for a

[1] See Wake MSS.

Balustrade the setting up of one in such a confus'd manner over the Plinth must apparently break with the Harmony of the whole machine and in this case be contrary to the Principles of Architecture. . . . My opinion therefore is to have Statues erected on the four Pediements only which will be a most proper Noble and sufficient ornament to the whole Fabric and was never omitted in the best Antient Greek and Roman Architecture. . . . If I glory it is in the singular mercy of God who has enabled me to begin and finish my great work so conformable to the Antient Model."

Wake was throughout a supporter of the Hanoverian Succession. George I. arrived in London on the 16th September 1714, and in October following the Bishop, Dean and Chapter, and Clergy of Lincoln presented their address to His Majesty, in which they state "our prayers are now answer'd, and we trust in God yt our Deliverance from Popery and Slavery so happily begun by yr Glorious Predecessor King William is now compleated."

It was widely thought, even before Dr. Tenison's death, that Wake would be Tenison's successor. On 15th May 1715, Gibson writes to Wake :

"I was asked by a brother Presbyter, who is often with my Lord Townshend, what I thought of Dr. Bradford for Lincoln on supposition of your Lordship's being translated, which he took for granted."

Apparently Gibson thought Bradford, who was afterwards made Bishop of Carlisle in 1719 and of Rochester in 1723, a sorry successor to "a perfect master of the work" like Wake. He adds: "His Grace found himself much worse yesterday by sitting up soe long the day before, and my account from ye Palace this morning is that he has had an ill night and is much out of order."

Tenison died on the 24th December 1715. It is said that the Primacy was offered to Hough, Bishop of

Lichfield. Hough was the man who had been elected President of Magdalen by the Fellows on their rejection of Anthony Farmer, James the Second's nominee, and who was afterwards turned out of the Headship of the College in favour of Parker, Bishop of Oxford, by James the Second's Special Commission. Hough has been called an "ideal bishop,"[1] but he shrunk from being Primate from modesty. Tenison had recommended Wake, and he was appointed, his appointment being confirmed on 6th January 1716. Wake was succeeded at Lincoln by Gibson, then Archdeacon of Surrey, who had been chaplain to, and was high in the esteem of, Archbishop Tenison, and who in 1720 was translated to London.

Wake was sworn in as member of the Privy Council on 20th January 1716, his election by the Dean and Chapter having taken place, and been duly published after morning service on the 5th.

He was widely congratulated on his accession to the Primacy. His colleagues at York, Bath and Wells, Chichester, Ely, Llandaff, and, of course, Carlisle wrote congratulatory letters. Jno. Oxon (afterwards to be Archbishop Potter, his successor in the Primacy) writes to a like effect and says: "The voice of the world hath already long since appointed your Lordship for his (Tenison's) successor." Chaslett, Master of University, who had urged him to accept Lincoln, congratulates him on Canterbury. Edward Tenison writes: "If your old friend that is dead had been indulg'd so far as to name a successor he would undoubtedly have named your Lordship." An old schoolfellow (we suppose at Wakefield) sent him acrostics on his name in Latin and in English. We quote the English:

> "When numerous blossoms in the Spring appear,
> It commonly portends a fruitfull year;
> Like which Wake's virtues, while but in their bloom,
> Left hopes of fruits of a good Life to come.

[1] Lord Lyttelton in *Worcester Dioc. Hist.*, p. 334. See Hore, i. 316.

Illustrious George, who does with Justice scan
All men's deserts well knowing this good man,
Made him the Church's Metropolitan.
What, then, may England hope from such a choice,
A man approv'd by every good man's voice,
Known a Defender of the Sacred Truth,
Exemplary in Life, even from his Youth."

Lord Chancellor Cowper wishes his confirmation hastened on, and will not "think of being out of town should his presence for the ceremony be necessary."

With Gibson Wake was now in frequent correspondence. He writes to the archbishop as to the necessity of an entertainment to the Mayor and Aldermen of Canterbury, whether the enthronisation is in person or by proxy; he makes an "arrangement" as to the services and remuneration of the gardener for the garden at Lambeth, which he tells Wake covers six acres: he has to recommend when the weekly doles to the poor at my lord's gate should begin, whether before he "comes over" or then, and gives the two last precedents.

"Tillotson appointed 1 May. Dole begun 1 October.
Tenison translated 16 Jany. ,, ,, 1 April."

Somehow Tenison had let serious dilapidations to occur both at Lambeth and Croydon, and the settlement of these with his nephew, Edward Tenison, involved friction if not litigation. The following particulars are given in the notes to Nichols' *Literary Anecdotes*, ix. 322, as taken from Dr. Edward Tenison's letters on Wake's demand for dilapidations. Archbishop Tenison laid out above £2000 at Croydon. £200 a year was the least he laid out in repairs. "Disbursements for repairs in about seventeen years besides what was paid by his Grace himself, £3421, 12s."

Wake asked for dilapidations, £3469. The claim was referred to Lord Chief-Justice King and Dr. Bettesworth, Dean of the Arches, as arbitrators, with the Bishop of Lichfield as umpire. The arbitrators awarded Wake £2800.

In the latter months of 1715 all England was con-

cerned with the Earl of Mar's rising in the North on behalf of the Pretender. The rebellion is perhaps best known to the ordinary British reader by the handsome Earl of Derwentwater being beheaded for his part in it, and by Lord Nithsdale escaping a like fate by the aid of his wife's suit of women's clothes. Forster, a gentleman of Northumberland, was at the head of the English insurgents. According to Smollett, there was a difference between the Pretender's Generals at Kelso in October—Lord Wintoun and the Highlanders wishing to march into West Scotland, the Englishmen to cross the Tweed and attack the King's forces. About half of them did march under Forster to Penrith, where, says Smollett, "the Sheriff, assisted by the Lord Lonsdale and the Bishop of Carlisle, had assembled the whole *posse comitatus* of Cumberland, who dispersed with the utmost precipitation at the approach of the Rebels." Forster and his forces got to Preston, where he was attacked by and surrendered to General Wills. On the same day, 14th November, Mar was defeated at Dunblane, and the rebellion died out. Wake was far from the fray, but the Bishop of Carlisle, William Nicholson, who had had the See since 1698, was a Hanoverian though a strong Churchman. He was a personal friend of Wake's, and seems to have placed great reliance on the archbishop. There are multitudes of letters from Rose Castle to Wake among the Wake MSS; some of them dated from Rose, even after the spirited old bishop, who had complained to Wake of the expense of his large family, had been consoled with the lucrative Bishopric of Derry. He ended his days as Archbishop of Cashel.

We get a vivid picture of the position at Carlisle in a letter dated the very day before the surrender of the rebels at Preston and the battle of Dunblane:

"Rose, *November 14th*, 1715.

"My very good Lord,—Your Lordship's kindness is very particular in expressing so great a concern for

the safety of so insignificant a creature as I am. The Rebels had indeed once fully purpos'd (as they acknowledg'd at Penrith) to have given me a visit; and to that end hover'd the whole day on the Banks of ye River Eden five miles below Carlisle. But as Providence ordered the matter the Rains had then so swell'd the waters that they were not fordable. This preserv'd my Beef and Mutton for the present. They sent me word that these provisions were only kept in store for the Earl of Mar. . . . I begin now to fancy that he'll hardly ever bring any great Retinue this way. For our last Saturday's advises affirm that he has actually intrench'd himself and his Highland guards at Perth. . . . Our greatest Danger as we think is from the return of the poor hungry Highlanders; should they be scatter'd into parties (as 'tis ten thousand to one that they will be) by General Wills and left to make the best of their way to their own rocky cells in the braes of Athol . . . I should be pretty positive in my opinion that they're under a necessity of engaging with the King's forces; and under as manifest a certainty of being beaten by them. They were joyn'd at Lancaster by Mr. Dalton and other neighbouring papists to the number (as our last advises tell us) of 400 . . . but having only a mob of their press'd tenants to trust to in ye day of Battle yeir hopes of Victory cannot be great."

George I. was not as prompt as he should have been in getting over troops from the Continent to meet the Pretender, who had landed in Scotland early in December. It was a month later before the needed reinforcements reached the North. On 9th January the Bishop of Carlisle is able to write to his friend, "There is no doubt but that ye Dutch troops being now all arriv'd the Duke of A. [Argyle] will quickly move towards Perth and ye general opinion seems to be that the Highland Clans will either thereupon disperse or (if they make a stand) fight it out more desperately."

In the autumn of 1715 the Archbishop of Canterbury and his suffragans issued a Declaration of Adherence to the new King and against the Pretender to be read in churches, and on the 22nd November the Archdeacon

of Bradford reports as to the attitude of the clergy towards the Declaration. The Declaration, he says, "appear'd to have ye general approbation without any shadow of opinion against it. . . . Whatever the effect be as to ye Jacobite I have hereby set a great many of the honest Clergy at Liberty who wanted and desired opportunity to publish it. It is a very unhappy circumstance that of the Bishop of Bristol's refusing to join with your Lordships." On the whole the non-signers are few. Whilst he is writing, he says, he has received a letter that it was agreed, at a meeting of the disaffected, "I had almost said Jacobite clergy at ye Bell Inn at Bradford not to read it without an Episcopal order to do so," but he hears that "one of ye greatest Tories in these parts read it in his church last Sunday."

The official of Bucks reports that his "parochial clergy have signed an Association testifying their 'Abhorrence of ye present unnatural Rebellion.'" The Bishop of Bristol referred to by the Archdeacon was of course the doughty Dr. George Smalridge, who had been put forward for the Regius Professorship of Divinity when Potter obtained the appointment in 1708. Atterbury, now Bishop of Rochester—whose general views were much in accord with Smalridge's—joined him in refusing to sign the Archbishop's Declaration. Smalridge[1] had been educated at Westminster and Christ Church, and in 1713 became Dean of Christ Church. A year later he was appointed to the bishopric of Bristol, one of the poorest of English sees, and was also made Almoner to Queen Anne. But for refusing now to sign the Declaration he had to resign his post of Almoner. At Carlisle and Christ Church he succeeded Atterbury. From Smalridge's good nature he was said to carry the bucket wherewith to extinguish the fires which Atterbury had kindled.

By January 1716 the Rebellion was crushed and the

[1] See his portrait and notes of him, Nichol's *Illustrations of Literature*, iii. 225.

Pretender hurrying back to France. At the end of the month the rebel Lords were impeached, and except Lord Wintoun pleaded guilty before Lord Cowper, the Lord High Steward, in Westminster Hall. Sentence of death was passed on the 9th February. Wake was appealed to by many of the convicted rebels. From Orange (and dated February 7, 1716) he gets an appeal from Dr. Sharp, the chaplain attending on the Earl of Carnwath and Viscount Kenmure, "encouraged by the just reputation yr Grace has amongst all good men for meekness, clemency, and moderation." Of these two Lord Carnwath was kept a long time in prison, but released under Sunderland's Act of Indemnity in July 1717. Kenmure was executed on Tower Hill with Derwentwater on 24th February 1716. There is among the Wake MSS the original of the following pathetic letter from Lady Nithsdale craving Wake's intercession for her husband :

"Your Grace's character is sufficient to embolden ye miserable tho' not personally known to address themselves to you under wch title none can have a greater right to doe it than myself who am wife to one of ye unfortunat Lds now under sentence of death wch makes me humbly beg of yr Grace you will induce ye King to be graciously pleas'd to suspend ye execution of ye fatall sentence he lys under according as a petition will be presented from me and I shall think myself obliged during life to pray for yr Grace's prosperity as becomes

My Ld,

Your Grace's most obliged and humble servant,

W. NITHSDALE."

Was she then planning his escape in woman's clothes?

From the "Tour," 20th February 1716, Robert Dalzell and Will Gordon crave Wake's intercession : and about the same time come frequent appeals for the archbishop's intercession signed "Widdrington." Lord Widdrington, like Carnwath, after many months' imprisonment, got the benefit of Sunderland's Act of Indemnity. All through 1716 the trials of the rebels dragged on. The unfortunate cleric Paul, who was

almost the only one of the prisoners in the Tower who did not escape, or to whom the royal clemency was not extended, sends from the Tower a petition to the archbishop "your Petr (who had once the honour to be in yr Grace's Dioces) is now a prisoner in Newgate under conviction for being unfortunately at Preston amongst the Rebells whom he left upon the first opportunity before the King's forces came up."

Just before his execution he writes again :

"According to all accounts Dr. Hall and myself are the only unfortunate Persons appointed to dye tomorrow. I am fully sensible of yr Grace's goodness and therefore flye to you and earnestly entreat your Grace will be pleased to intercede with His Royal Highness the Prince att this my last extremity that he would be graciously pleased to extend mercy to a humble suppliant."

Intercession failed, and he suffered the extreme penalty with four or five others at Tyburn, professing himself a true member of the Church of England, but not of the revolution schismatical Church.

Convocation, when it met in the spring of 1716, presented an Address to the Crown in which both Houses concurred in expressing their "Abhorence of that most unnaturall Rebellion."

The Bishop of Carlisle continued to supply Wake with information concerning the results of the Rebellion, and throughout 1716 writes him constant letters about the rebel prisoners. At the beginning of September 1716 a troop of thirty prisoners was brought from Edinburgh to Carlisle for trial. Their condition in Carlisle Castle, according to the good bishop, during the three months they were awaiting trial was pitiable ; they had to lie "on bare straw," the citizens being unwilling to send in bedding where it was sure to rot ; "several," says the bishop, "were roaring in fits of the gout and gravel." The episcopal kindliness of heart got them leave to "walk by three or four at a time" under "proper guard on ye Batteries of ye Castle."

Among the gentlemen carried to Carlisle was one John Rose, son of the Bishop of Edinburgh. The bishop had been mulcted of an annuity by the Rebellion, but he begs Wake to intercede for his son, who had been "led away by the common example," and so was found among the Pretender's forces. Wake applies to his friend the Bishop of Carlisle on behalf of the young man: but the good bishop is too anti-Jacobite to be very sympathetic. He thinks the young man has no one but himself to blame: "I will no more bestir myself," he says, "for him the Bishop of Edinburgh's son than I would for my own son in like circumstances." He writes, however, to the archbishop, fully and often, about how things go with the young man. It is not till nearly the end of the year that the Judges reach Carlisle: the prisoners were pressed to plead guilty and trust to the royal mercy. Some clever counsel suggested a demurrer to the jurisdiction: how under the Act of Union could Scottish prisoners be tried in England for a Scottish crime. Everyone from the Bench downwards was alarmed at the prospect of the demurrer. "You will do better to drop the demurrer, plead guilty and be pardoned," was the advice given to the prisoners.

On 15th December 1716 the Bishop of Carlisle writes to Wake:

"John Rose the Bishop of Edinburgh's son came this moment to the bar, and desir'd a present arraignment; pleaded guilty, and made so handsome an application to the Court that his case is sure of being very favourably represented."

The bishop really seems to have done his best for the young man. Two days later he writes from Rose:

"Your letter came to hand when I was with Mr. Justice Tracy: who had acquainted me with the like application in favour of ye Bishop of Edinburgh's son made to himself by the Earl of Carnarvon. Two such advocates were soon agreed to be worth a whole sheeve

of those from the North, and thereupon I had leave to send for the young fellow forthwith to the Bar—where he presently appear'd, desir'd to be immediately arraign'd and that being granted pleaded guilty. This he did in so becoming a manner and so good an appearance of a true penitent heart that the Judge promis'd to represent his case favourably to His Majesty whose mercy he confidently relyse on. I had never seen the young man before, but was not a little pleas'd with his modest behaviour."

Some of the clergy of Jacobitish sympathies made a trouble about the Form of Prayer for 1st August, the day of George the First's accession. It was not universally observed, and on 12th March 1716 Gibson, *oculus episcopi* if not actually yet *episcopus*, and Hanoverian to the tips of his fingers, writes to Wake showing how the defaulters should be brought to book, and suggests taking the opinion of the Judges whether the King as supreme head of the Church can direct by proclamation a form of service. In the summer of 1716 the Bishop of Worcester writes asking the Primate's advice about parishes where the prescribed service for 1st August is not read.

The attitude of the country clergy towards George I. and his family continued to give anxiety to the Government and the leaders in the Church who supported the Government. We get faithful pictures of how things stood in this respect in the reports to Wake from his subordinates. Speaking of his clergy, says a Midland archdeacon, who had just held his visitation under date 15th April 1716, "they took occasion at dinner to express their love of the King, even those of Sparkenhoe deanery notwithstanding their being distinguished as High Tories. I do verily believe they would be found more obedient subjects than they may appear or are represented to be did not ye indiscretion of some Dissenters and Low Churchmen raise a jealousie in 'em of the Government by declaring openly they wd see in a little time the clergy sufficiently humbled. Such friends do great disservice to the Government."

Wake was a scholar, and scholars could count on his sympathy. There is preserved a long and most interesting letter to him from the great scholar Bentley under date 15th April 1716 containing a proposal by the latter to publish a new Text of the Greek Testament. Bentley calls attention to "ye vast heap of various lections found in MSS of ye Greek Testament." After saying that this was a favourite theme of freethinkers and "one of Collins' Topics in his Discourse on Freethinking," and that he (Bentley) had lately been led into a "new course of study," he says, "I find I am able (what was once thought impossible) to give an Edn of ye Greek Text exactly as it was in ye best exemplars at ye time of ye Council of Nice," so that there shall not be "twenty words nor even Particles Difference." He asserts that the Text of the New Testament had suffered more than that of most classical authors: he expresses a poor opinion of the Vulgate, and says: "Pope Sixtus and Clemens at a vast expense had an assembly of learned divines to recense and adjust ye Latin Vulgate and then enacted their new Edition authentic. But I find, though I have not yet discovered anything done *dolo malo*, they were quite unequal to ye affair. They were mere theologi, had no experience in MSS nor made use of good Greek copies and followed books of five hundred years before those of double age, nay I believe they took those new ones for ye older of ye two; for it is not everybody knows ye age of a MSS." Wake received the project with encouragement, and made useful suggestions to the great scholar.

In July 1716 George I. was able to leave England for his beloved Hanover, having got Parliament to set him free to go. Smollett says that he went to secure his German dominions against the Swedes (who were vexed at his having in the interests of Hanover bought up and with English money the secularised bishoprics and Bremen and Verden), "and Great Britain from the Pretender." Hanover was nearest his heart. Wake

sent a chaplain with him in the person of Lancelot Blackburne, then Dean of Exeter, afterwards Bishop of Exeter, and ultimately Archbishop of York. Townshend was deposed from being Prime Minister, and the chief power came into the hands of Sunderland and Stanhope, who were Secretaries of State. Mr. Secretary Stanhope, who had thus far distinguished himself as a soldier, went with his royal master.

The character of Lancelot Blackburne—who is not to be confused with Archdeacon Francis Blackburne, the Broad Churchman of "the Confessional," who flourished half a century later—is not good as an ecclesiastic. Horace Walpole's dictum of him, that he had been a buccaneer and was now clergyman, retaining nothing of his former profession but the seraglio, though seriously inaccurate, has fatally besmirched it. His doings as a prelate fell short of our standards. But Wake apparently thought not unfavourably of him. There are many letters from him to Wake in the Wake MSS. The later ones display too much eagerness for preferment. But after reading his character as given by ecclesiastical historians one finds the tone of them better than one would expect.

George I. left Gravesend on 9th July, and on 17th July Blackburne writes from Hanover to Wake as to what he calls "the voyage which your Grace has done me the honour to cut out for me. Mr. Secretary Stanhope came himself on board ye next day after he had seen his Majesty on board his between three and four in the afternoon, and we all sail'd soon after with a very gale towards ye coast of Holland. We had six men-of-war for our convoy, two others having been sent before to look out upon the coast of France from whence there had been intelligence of some ill design." . . . On arriving off the Dutch coast he says "we could not weigh till His Majesty after being very sea-sick was gone off thither in his own boat."

The duties of chaplain to George I. on one of his

excursions to his beloved Hanover were not severe, and Blackburne winds up his letter by saying, "Mr. Secy. has undertaken to know the King's pleasure as to the appearance I am to make and the duty I am to do here which I cannot think will be any way burthensome."

On 31st July he writes again :

"Lord Burford and Ld N. Pawlet were very sollicitous to know where and how they should spend the Sunday. . . . I said 'I shd be ready to say prayers to 'em in a good room at my own lodgings both in the morning and evening . . . we made up a congregation of above twenty.'"

He gets the offer in a day or two of both the Lutheran and Reformed Churches for his services; as to the former he doubts "how far ye English here might be scandalised at the crucifix on the altar," and the Reformed Church is taken. "I yesterday," he says, "read prayers and preach'd in the morning and read Prayers also in the afternoon to a pretty large congregation who made the Responses regularly, and made it so that I did not much miss a Clerk." "There is no surplice here, and being in doubt whether they can make one here which will not be awkward," he says, "he shall not get one unless the Archbishop directs him to do so."

He brings Wake into touch with the great scientist Leibnitz, who sends the archbishop a parcel of his books. In another letter dated in September 1716, from Hanover, Blackburne says: "Both the Lutherans and the Calvinists look upon Leibnitz as an unbeliever, and the Laymen of the Court say he has his religion to choose and was ready to turn Roman Catholic, but y^{t} they would not come up to his bargain." But this is the common fate of men that have more learning or a larger mind than others. Leibnitz's death is reported a little later.

Blackburne was not in love with his duty at Hanover, and by the end of the year he is back at his Deanery of Exeter. But his stay at Hanover had tightened his

connection with the Court and Stanhope, then a powerful Minister, and on the last day of the year he writes to Wake that he has heard from Hanover from Stanhope "that His Majesty had been pleas'd to assure him that upon his arrival in England he intends the Bishoprick of Exon for me." England recovered the much-needed presence of its monarch in January 1717, and Blackburne duly got his bishopric.

A foolish quarrel between George I. and his son the Prince of Wales broke out in November 1717. The Prince's wife, the great Caroline of Anspach, gave birth to a son on 3rd November. The King ordered the Duke of Newcastle to stand sponsor for him, the Prince of Wales having designed this honour for his brother the Duke of York. After the christening, the Prince of Wales, says Smollett, "expressed his resentment against this nobleman in very warm terms." George I. turned his son and his son's wife out of St. James's, but detained their children. The newly born prince languished, and in a week or two died. Caroline was very ill: on 10th November Townshend, the Prime Minister, writes to Wake:

"WHITEHALL.

"The Princess is much better this evening than she was in the morning; however, Sir David Hamilton being of opinion that she is still in some danger, the Lords think it will be proper for your Grace to order her to be publickly prayed for in the Churches of London and Westminster."

On 27th November 1717 notice comes from the Duke of Newcastle that His Majesty has appointed the "christening of ye young Prince to-morrow between seven and eight in the evening at ye Princess's lodgings in St. James's." His Majesty hopes "'twill be convenient to your Grace to be there at that time."

There had been probably some tension between the King and his son before, but it blazed up over the poor little baby's christening. It seems hard to justify the

King's attitude to his son and daughter-in-law. Well-wishers of the powers that were felt their cause weakened by this unworthy squabble. Wake tried to smooth it down, but without effect. Several of his correspondents refer to it.

The Bishop of Carlisle, Nicholson, writes in December 1717:

"I shall least of all be able to bear up against Rents and schisms in ye Royal Family. . . . I trust by your Grace's interposition all Blackness is already remov'd from that quarter and that their Royal Highnesses are return'd to St. James's in perfect peace. . . ."

And ten days later, again:

"My heart akes when (sleeping or waking) I think of St. J. God grant peace!"

Smalridge, the doughty Tory, Bishop of Bristol and Dean of Christ Church, writes on the 8th December 1717:

"When I lately did myself the honour of congratulating with Her R.H. upon ye birth of the young Prince I had no apprehensions that there wd be so soon afforded too just a ground of being afflicted for her and condoling with her: but to our great surprise and grief we hear that even that Birth which we esteem'd a Blessing to the whole nation and more particularly to ye Royall Family has accidentally been the occasion of a Breach where ye most intire Union is desir'd by all sincere friends of the Government. Into the grounds of that misunderstanding it becomes not private persons curiously to enquire, but I am sure we may with the utmost duty to all our superiors lament the terrible consequences of it, and more especially the sad effect we hear it has had upon Her Royal Highness's health . . . while you are permitted to attend her she cannot want ye advice of a faithfull and prudent Counsellor."

The writer's prayer is that when he comes to London and waits on the Prince and Princess he may find them at St. James's.

On 5th April 1718, the archbishop gets news that

last night, about seven o'clock, Baron Bothmar brought a message from His Majesty to the governess, letting her know that it was his royal pleasure that she should leave her charge and dispose of herself elsewhere ; " but that ye rest of ye attendants on ye young Princesses were allow'd to continue " in their respective posts.

It is not, however, until two years later that the Prime Minister Sunderland is able on 23rd April to write to the archbishop :

" I have the honour of acquainting y^r^ Grace with a piece of news that I daresay will be more agreeable to you than anything that has happened since the King's accession to the Crown, it is the reconciliation of the King and Prince which is at last happily brought about with the dignity of the King and to the mutual satisfaction of both sides the immediate consequence of this will be the entire reunion of the Whig Party in both Houses which will be attended with all other good consequences honest men can desire."

Down to this time the Prince and Princess had been living at Norfolk House. The Royal reconciliation gladdened the hearts of all well-wishers to the Government. On the 28th April, Jonathan Winchester (Trelawney) writes from Wolvesey to the archbishop :

" I can't conclude my letter before I express ye great joy I have at ye reconciliation of ye King and Prince which must make the Royal Family happy and ye Kingdom easy because I have ye pleasure to believe you had a hand in it."

Wake's dealings as archbishop with Convocation were confined to a short period of time. The Canterbury Convocation of 1714 had terminated by Anne's death, having been largely in its last session occupied with the writings of Dr. Clarke. Under George I. Parliament and Convocation met together in March 1715. Both Houses of Convocation concurred in an address to the new monarch on 7th April, and in his reply he said :[1]

[1] Lathbury, *History of Convocation*, 440.

"I thank you for your very dutiful and loyal address. . . . You may be assured I will always support and defend the Church of England as by Law established and make it my particular care to encourage the clergy."

The usual sermon was preached by Gibson, then Rector of Lambeth and Archdeacon of Surrey.

The royal letters to proceed to business arrived on 5th May. The matters included regulation of excommunications, terriers and accounts of glebes and tithes, marriage licences, a form for consecrating churches, titles for orders, enforcing the canons, touching sober conversation of ministers, the supply and licensing of curates, preparation for confirmation. Of these matters the bishops undertook the 3rd, 4th, 5th, and 8th ; the others were left to the Lower House. A form for consecrating churches, being a revision of a form passed by Convocation in 1712 and signed by Tenison, was drawn up by the bishops. Attention, Lathbury suggests, had been drawn to the need of such a form by the fact that some of the fifty new churches authorised by Parliament in 1711 were ripe for consecration.

The Lower House condemned *The Difficulties and Discouragements which attend the Study of the Holy Scriptures*, published by Dr. Hare, then Dean of Salisbury, afterwards Bishop of Chichester, the ancestor of Augustus and Julius Hare, two very distinguished Churchmen of our own day.[1] They also agreed to a Declaration to make the 75th Canon touching the sober conversation of ministers more effectual. The House of Commons had replied favourably to a royal message commending to the House a request from the Commissioners for building the fifty new churches for maintenance of the ministers of such churches, and the two Houses of Convocation in August 1715 united in an Address of Thanks to the Crown for the royal

[1] Hore, i. 326.

liberality. The Convocation was adjourned in September following and did not meet for business till January 1716. Meanwhile Tenison had died, and Wake was in the Primate's chair.

It is not surprising that Wake, who in the first years of the century had taken a leading part in the Convocation controversies, should, now that he had become President of the Southern House, address himself with special care to matters affecting its being called together. The death of the President presented difficulties which required care.

Atterbury was by this time out of the way, having been made Bishop of Rochester, and Dr. Stanhope, Dean of Canterbury, had succeeded him as prolocutor. There was consultation between Wake and Stanhope in December 1715 as to the method of reassembling the Convocation, and apparently one or other of them consulted Cowper, the Lord Chancellor. On the 18th December, Stanhope writes, giving

"The Lord Chancellor's opinion concerning the state of our Convocation affairs: who after giving up as utterly impracticable any expedient for making a regular adjournment from the 16th was undetermined in his judgment whether the Discontinuance be not a Dissolution and do not render a new choice necessary, or whether by writ directed to me and the Chapter and a Deputation from us thereupon the same body may re-assemble the 9th January. I told him yr Grace's opinion was that the King had power to call the same together. His Lordship thought this the more desireable expedient."[1]

Precedents were to be looked up. Meanwhile Atterbury, whose opinion Wake naturally valued on Convocation questions, as any wise man values the opinion of an old antagonist, is quoted by Stanhope: "The Bishop of Rochester entirely agrees in the opinion of His Majesty's power to reassemble us in the manner I ment[d] before." Dean Stanhope writes again a week or

[1] Wake MSS, 1715.

two later, that the uncommon rigour of the season furnishes an unanswerable argument against assembling the Convocation. Wake wrote out himself and settled with great care the form of the Convocation writ, which he submits for Atterbury's approval, who writes, "I have no manner of exception to ye Form of Writ which your Grace hath been pleased to communicate to me."

As the actual meeting of Convocation draws near, Wake becomes careful that everything should be in order. There is a "method of Proceeding in ye Chapell of Henry VII." at the opening. The Upper House can only sit in the Jerusalem Chamber by leave of the Dean; on this Atterbury, who was Dean of Westminster as well as Bishop of Rochester, is consulted, and he encloses a letter from Tenison, asking his (Atterbury's) consent to the use of the Jerusalem Chamber "a part of yr Lordship's mansion house," as Tenison calls it. Atterbury is now entirely at peace with his old opponent, indeed they had come together at Exeter. "Whatever ye expressions are if it appears by them that ye Jerusalem Chamber is made use of by my consent the end of such a letter is satisfy'd."

We propose to deal in Archbishop Potter's life with the story of the Bangorian Controversy arising out of the publications of the notorious Hoadly, Bishop of Bangor. The first Convocation, summoned under Wake as Primate, met in 1717. Its proceedings were almost entirely devoted to Hoadly, and form a part of the story of the Bangorian Controversy, and we have treated them accordingly; as we have detailed in our life of *Potter*, they ended in the silencing of Convocation for one hundred and fifty years.

Mr. Lathbury, in his classical work on Convocation, says that in 1717 Wake "wished to see the Convocation assembled; and the prohibition of its meetings at this period was purely the act of the Whig Ministry in which the governors of the Church were in no way concerned." There is a letter of Atterbury's in his correspondence,

under date the 8th November 1717, which seems to bear this out. The archbishop, he says, was of opinion that he should be permitted to hold the Convocation ; and had told the Prolocutor (Dr. Stanhope).

" From whom I had it that he wd adjourn it to-morrow till the 22nd and from thence by like intermissions till Xmas, after which the clergy shd meet and act. But when I was last in Town I found from good hands that he was as much mistaken on this occasion as he had been on many others ; it being resolved in a great Council last week at Hampton Court to prorogue the Convocation by a new Royal Writ till February next."

Whether the Government and Wake intended in 1717—and 1718—that the non-issuing of a licence to do business should be chronic is uncertain. Probably not ; it was sufficient for the time that it should do nothing then. There is a letter in February 1719 from Sunderland to Wake which seems rather to point to its meeting again for effective business. The Prime Minister says :

" I had the honour of yr Grace's letter and acquainted the King with what you mentioned in relation to the Convocation. There will be a Cabinett Councill this morning at St. James where his Maj^ty^ will order the writt for Proroguing them. The day the King intends it if you approve is Wednesday the 8th of April next."

But the fact remains that after 1717 the Government were induced, as Mr. Lathbury says, " to suspend the regular synodical business of Convocation." From that time he adds " no royal licence was granted." The Convocation assembled with every Parliament ; but the meeting was purely formal.

So strongly had the dissensions in Convocation been felt that even then there were found those who congratulated Wake on its becoming silent. On the 16th November 1717 his friend, Bishop Nicholson of Carlisle, still writing from Rose, says :

"I cannot help congratulating your Grace on the new Prorogation of ye provincial Synod. If ye suffragans and their inferior clergy had drawn different ways (as they probably would have done), no good work cd have been wrought and the Bp. of B.'s worshippers would have had greater occasion of triumph than I trust they will now have."

Wake, as Archbishop, has been charged with taking a line in Parliament inconsistent with that which he had down to that time adopted. At any rate it has been said by Whiston and others that any sympathy which Wake had shown with Liberal principles of comprehension and toleration was rapidly and effectively dropped when he was once seated on the archiepiscopal throne. Wake was not the man to adopt principles in which he did not believe to gain thereby distinction or wealth, nor was he the sort of man that makes a turncoat; apart from the wretched Schism Act any change of view may be defended on the ground that as Primate he may have been justly cautious; a Primate stands first and alone; he is no longer one of many equally clothed with responsibility. George I. was certainly no better friend to religion or the Church than Anne had been. Wake, archbishop in 1719, may have felt a distrust of change, for which Wake, bishop in 1711, had seen no need. He would justify his refusal to repeal the Schism Act, as he did, on the ground that it was a dead letter not worth the trouble of a repeal.

Very soon after becoming Primate he had to deal with the proposals of Ministers to relieve the Dissenters. The Dissenters as a body were zealous supporters of the Hanoverian Dynasty, and George I., though in every speech of his to Parliament he had protested his intention to support the Established Church, had given the Dissenters reason to think they would get relief.

The Acts which especially galled them were the Old Test Acts of Charles II., the Occasional Conformity Act, and the Schism Act of Anne's later

years. Of these, of course, the second grew out of the first. Two Acts of Charles II., passed in the fever heat of triumphant Royalism, 13 Charles II., and 25 Charles II., required any Candidate for office—municipal, military, or otherwise—to receive the Communion according to the rites of the Church of England before being admitted to office. The churchwardens of his parish had to be present and certify to his having duly communicated. Not unnaturally a Dissenting Mayor or Alderman, having qualified for and taken office, resumed attendance at the chapel which he was in the habit of attending. This was a shocking grievance to the Tory High Churchman. And there was justice in their complaint. It was disgraceful that a man should participate in the holiest service of the English Church when his own conduct showed, the next Sunday, that his heart, ecclesiastically and religiously, was elsewhere. But the disputed point was whether the Test Acts which the Tories stoutly supported were not the real cause of the mischief.

Letters to Archbishop Wake from clergy show that in some churches the communicants who came to "qualify" were treated separately from those who came for devotion. However, the Tories throughout Anne's reign—in the language of the Vicar of Bray—thought "the church in Danger was by the Prevarication" of the Occasional Conformists. Three times, with the help of Anne, in 1702, 1703, and 1704, the Commons had passed an occasional Conformity Bill inflicting penalties for occasionally conforming. But the Whigs in the Lords, especially the Whig bishops under Burnet, got it thrown out. It was not till the end of 1711 that Nottingham, stoutest of Churchmen, made a bargain that if the Lords would pass the measure he would give the Whigs support on the war and other questions. So the Bill passed the Upper House and was greedily accepted by the Commons. It enacted that any person who after admission to office should be "present at any conventicle" should be

liable to a fine of £40, to be recovered by the Prosecutor.

With the passing of the third of the Acts, Bolingbroke's Schism Act, we have already dealt, and need only repeat that Wake opposed and, with his friend Lord Cowper, signed a Protest against it. By the end of 1716 Townshend was getting into disgrace with George I., and Sunderland and Stanhope were soon to be the King's Chief Ministers. Relief to the Dissenters became an important item in the Ministerial programme, being supported by Walpole who was at difference with Sunderland and Stanhope on other points.

So far back as March 1716 the Chancellor writes to the Archbishop :

" *March* 14, 1716.

" My Lord Archbishop,—I believe yr Grace has recd before this time notice of a visit from ye E. of S. and Mr. Stanhope. I hope this will come soon enough to let you know beforehand the business of it. 'Tis in ye King's name to sound yr Grace's opinion on a Repeal of ye Act against occasional Conformity. I din'd yesterday with them and Mr. Bernsdoff and ye same mater was then ye subject. I truly own'd I never liked ye Act and joyn'd in passing it as it is least it should have pass'd as it would have done if oppos'd in a worse maner. But to my great surprise I was so fortunate as to convince them both yt it was not fit to have that Bill of Repeal and that about the University going at ye same time ; upon this they took a sudden turn and became resolv'd to have this of ye Repeal first and postpone that concerning ye Universitys wch your Grace knows how lately and how much ye K as they said had set his heart upon . . . I thought yr Grace wd be content to have a little warning."

In February 1717 Wake gets a letter from his friend Lady Cowper, the Chancellor's wife, in which she gives his Grace intimation that " ye House of Commons being now so empty by reason of ye members being gone into ye Country this occasion is thought proper to bring in ye Occasional Bill." " As," she goes on " I know yr Grace's sentiments upon it I thought it my duty to give you

notice of it and beg you would not name it from me but make yr own use of it."

Wake, as was natural, consulted his suffragans: from the first there was considerable difference of opinion amongst Churchmen, including the Episcopal Bench, about the measure.

His friend, Nicholson of Carlisle, writes to him in the summer of 1717:

"I had an opportunity of walking a good deal in the Park with the Bishops of Lincoln and Exeter. The former seem'd surpriz'd at my telling them that I had heard (from a good hand) that ye Repeal of ye Occasional Act was again upon the anvil."

After saying that the Bishop of Exeter had been "sounded (that morning) upon that point" and seemed, the writer thought, "to be fully resolv'd against giving ground," "whether" he goes on "my Br of Lincoln will be equally stout I cannot foretel . . . and yet," says Carlisle, "I cannot suspect him of giving way to what (I am sure) he thinks to be damnable hypocrisy."

Lincoln of course was Gibson and Exeter Blackburne.

Later in November 1717 Gibson writes to the Archbishop:

"Yesterday the Bishops of Worcester, Gloucester and myself were desir'd to be at ye Bishop of Norwich's this morning at 11 o'clock and we found there ye Bishops of Sarum and Lichfield. The occasion of ye meeting was which way it wd be best to proceed in with regard to ye Bill for Corporations, and tho' that of offering to receive ye Sacrament and admitting such offer as a full qualification was mentioned yet it appear'd to be ye sense of ye whole company that ye more desireable method would be to abolish the Sacramental Test so far as it concerns Corporations."

The Prelates, or some of them, were keen that Wake should command their attendance upon him "on this subject."

The Bishop of Norwich, Trimnell, had been tutor to Sunderland's family, and was a leader among the Whigs.

About the same time, Carlisle again writes, putting forward the more Tory views which doubtless many, if not most, of the country clergy held :

"*21st November* 1717.

"No Bishop can now without giving great cause of offence consent to ye relaxing of any of the laws in being for the security of our Ecclesiastical Establishment. Most of ye Clergy and Laity of our communion are justly alarm'd with a new Doctrine—that ye most moderate penalties and smallest negative Discouragements which guard conformity in religious worship are unchristian—countenanc'd by those who now in His Majesty's name move for such a Relaxation. . . . The least infringement of the Occasional Act or ye Test Law in favour of Dissenters without a previous or concurrent censure of ye said position, seems to be of pernicious consequence to the Public Peace."

Perhaps it was counsels of friends like this that made Wake in 1718 so stoutly oppose the "Bill for strengthening the Protestant Interest." It must be remembered too that by this time Hoadly had issued his "Preservative" and preached his celebrated sermon.

Throughout 1718 foreign affairs, especially in the warlike operations against Spain, occupied public attention. Lord Stanhope had to go to Spain, and though George I. in his speech at the opening of Parliament had promised a Bill for the greater strengthening the Protestant interest, it is not till November 1718 that we hear of ministers again consulting the Primate. On 23rd November 1718, Sunderland writes to Wake that the Lord Chancellor, Lord Stanhope, and Sec. Craggs proposed to dine with the Primate at Lambeth on the following day, but having heard that he had been "something indispos'd" wished to know whether he would give them another day or stick to the day following.

As Stanhope introduced the Occasional Conformity

Bill on the 13th December 1718, it seems pretty certain that that was to be the topic of the meeting.

About the same time as Ministers were contriving a Repeal of the Occasional Conformity Act and other Acts objected to by the Dissenters, the idea of a Royal Letter to the archbishop, for communication to the bishops and clergy dealing chiefly with Romish aggressions, was on foot. Gibson, Bishop of Lincoln, drafted it, and it was settled by Trimnell of Norwich. It dealt with the "unusual Liberty divers clergymen and others had lately shewn" in "maintaining and publishing several Doctrines and Superstitions of the Church of Rome on purpose to lessen the aversion" of the King's subjects to Popery, also with a tendency in some of the clergy, through dislike of Rome, "to deny all kind of Power within a Christian Church."

Ministers were very anxious to get Wake's support for the Occasional Conformity Bill. Perhaps they thought he might be propitiated if his plan of a Royal Letter were adopted; at any rate on the 12th December 1718, Sunderland deals with the Bill and the Royal Letter in the same letter to Wake. He writes, he says:

"In particular by the King's order to show your Grace the enclos'd copy of the Bill about the Occasional Conformity which Lord Stanhope is to bring to-morrow into the House. Your Grace will see by it that though it be absolutely necessary for the King's affairs to have this matter brought on yet there is in ye framing and shaping of all the regard had to the Dignity of the Church and the case of the Clergy as was possibly consistent with making it effectuall for the Public Service of the Government, and indeed, I think it is truely so fram'd as not to leave a reall conscientious and religious objection to it. The King therefore hopes it will not meet with your Grace's Disapprobation. I am sure there never was a King who was more sincerely and more strongly determined to support the Establish'd Church and consult its honour nor who has a greater desire to shew the utmost regard to yourself as the Head of that Church under him. . . . I have read

to the King the draught you sent me of the letter who has ordered me to tell you that whenever you think proper he will order it to be prepar'd for his signing : approving and liking every part of it, and to assure you that he will be ready to do everything towards making it effectuall which yr Grace can suggest to him."

On the copy of the Bill which Sunderland sent to Wake is a note in Sunderland's handwriting ; a clause is to be added to hinder " any magistrate carrying the ensigns of honour to any other place of publick worship, but the Established Church." This found its way into the Act.

Wake did not receive the draft Bill at all kindly. His endorsement on the draft Sunderland sent him is " for enlarging the Act of Indulgence I suppose on behalfe of Socinians, Arians, &c." He prepared very elaborate notes of his speech or speeches against it in the House of Lords. On these notes he has written :

" The Heads of my speech in the Hs of Lords agst repealing the Occasional Conformity Bill.

" Here I was both deserted and betray'd by my Brethren some of whom had encouraged me in my opposition. I pray God forgive them.

" Mem. In order to the settling of this worthy Bill a meeting was had Sunday night to which I was not invited between the Ministry and Bps (proper for such a work).

" One not in the secret asked whether the Archbishop would be there. It was answered that being late and a stormy night they believed not. Such was their sincerity ! I had my acct. of this meeting from my Lord Chancellor Cowper, and in part from the good Bp of L. Cov. The Bps at the meeting are thus marked (x) in the printed List."

Attached to these notes is a Printed List of " the Lords spiritual and temporal " who voted for or against the Repeal of the several Acts made for the security of the Church of England.

Under the list "for the Church," which numbers seventy-eight, are the two archbishops and thirteen bishops including those of London, Chichester, and Lichfield.

The supporters of the Bill, according to the list, numbered ninety-six, including the Bishops of Bangor, Lincoln, Worcester, Salisbury, Gloucester, Peterboro, and Carlisle.

Wake has marked with a small cross Lincoln, Worcester, Gloucester, and Salisbury as being present at the Sunday evening "Cabal," as he calls it.

The course the Bill took in the House of Lords was as follows: Stanhope brought it in on 13th December under the title of a Bill for strengthening the Protestant interest in these kingdoms, and the second reading was moved on the 15th. There was a suggestion of a long adjournment. A leading opponent of the Bill in the Lords suggested that during a month's adjournment the Lord Chancellor should write circular letters to summon all the Lords to attend, upon the severest penalty the House could inflict. Another Lord, though of the same opinion, thought it needless to give the Lord Chancellor, who had business enough upon his hands, the trouble of writing circular letters, and suggested that every Lord then present should write to his absent friends, letters so written being, he said, "more acceptable and effectual than a formal summons."

A long adjournment was, however, distasteful to Ministers, and it was resolved, without dividing, that the second reading should only be put off till 18th December. On that day it was read a second time, and on a motion to refer it to a Committee of the whole House a noble Lord required the opinion of the Episcopal Bench on a measure "wherein the Church was so nearly concerned." Thereupon Wake delivered himself of a speech against the Bill.

This speech, as it appears in the parliamentary debates, is far more meagre than his notes, still extant,

would lead us to expect. According to the parliamentary history he said he had "all imaginable tenderness for all the well-meaning conscientious Dissenters, but he could not forbear saying that some amongst them made a wrong use of the favour and indulgence that was shown them upon the Revolution though they had the least share in that event." Of the Schism Act, at the close of his speech he said that though it might carry a face of severity yet it seemed needless to make a law to repeal it, since no advantage had been taken of it against the Dissenters ever since it was made.

Sir William Dawes, who in 1714 had been promoted from Chester, to which see he had been appointed in 1707, to York, agreed with his brother of Canterbury, urging that the Acts against Occasional Conformity and Schism were proper means of self-defence and preservation, and that the Dissenters were never to be gained by indulgence.[1] The Episcopal Bench gave their views indeed fully, though with considerable differences of opinion among themselves. The Bishop of London, who supported the archbishops, was Robinson, a diplomatist rather than a divine; Smalridge of Bristol, Gastrell of Chester, and of course Atterbury of Rochester, also opposed the Bill. Equally, of course, Hoadly, whom Anne would not make a bishop but who had been appointed to Bangor in 1715, supported the Bill, maintaining that all tests were objectionable, and that the Acts sought to be repealed were persecuting Acts on a par with the Inquisition morally: so did Willis of Gloucester, Gibson, and White Kennet of Peterboro'. Next day the debate was resumed. Wake spoke again against the Bill, as did Atterbury,—Trimnell of Norwich supporting the Bill. In the end the committal of the Bill was carried by 86—19 proxies, against 68—18 proxies.

On 20th December, in grand Committee, the reference to the Test and Corporation Acts was struck out,

[1] See Parliamentary Debates, 1719.

Lord Cowper supporting this view. The motion to repeal the Act was carried by 55 against 33.

The ties that bound Wake to Gibson of Lincoln and White Kennet of Peterboro', who had preached the sermon at his consecration as Bishop of Lincoln, were very close, and we can well understand his annoyance at their throughout voting in support of the Bill in opposition to him. The Bill was read the third time in the Commons after considerable debate on 10th January 1719. As it passed into Law (it is 5 George I. cap. i.) it is short, simply repealing the main section of 10 Anne, cap 3, the Occasional Conformity Act, and the Schism Act, 12 Anne, cap 7. The clause foreshadowed by Sunderland, forbidding a Mayor from attending any conventicle with his insignia of office, found a place in the Act.

Wake was not only a man without enemies but he was a man looked up to by persons of all opinions and ranks. His qualities were sterling and, universally, the estimate men had of him was high. We find the Secretary of State, Craggs of South Sea Bubble fame, writing to ask him to examine a counterfeiter of French bank notes, who was willing to make a confession of his plot to Wake and no one else. With Lord Cowper, a Lord Chancellor of great distinction who twice held the Seals—for the second time from 1714 to 1718—he was, as we have hinted, on terms of intimate friendship. When long intrigue had driven Cowper to resign the Lord Chancellorship, he communicates the fact at once as to a valued friend.

On the 15th April 1718 he writes :

" I set down in haste to do my duty to your Grace in sending you word that this day about 3 o'clock I surrendered ye great Seale into his Majesty's hand." The Chancellor intimates that he had found " that service wd not consist with any tolerable degree of health. . . . I was so heartily weary of it on many other accounts."

The Chancellor's lady writes Wake a most friendly note to tell of her husband's retirement:

"I needn't tell your Grace what reasons have induc'd him to take this step; many of ym are but too visible, and ye rest I hope we shall chatt over as soon as I come to town. . . . I beg yr Grace to be assur'd you have not two more faithful servants in ye world yn my Lord and I and yt in all conditions of life yr Grace's esteem and friendship will be ye greatest pleasure to us both."

There is a warm message to "Dear" Mrs. Wake.

The friendship and correspondence between the two distinguished men by no means came to an end at this time. In August 1720, Wake paid Cowper a visit at his country seat in Hertfordshire.[1] In the following year Cowper, who had had to try the Bristol waters, and who, however he may have fallen out with George I., or George II. personally, was a steady supporter of their dynasty—writes to Wake: "There was not ye least madding on ye Pretender's birthday nor inclination to it that cd be observed." The quotation is interesting as showing that a counter Revolution was never far absent from our rulers' minds down to the middle of the eighteenth century.

In 1711 the scheme for building fifty new churches in and near London had been started.[2] The Upper House of Convocation had petitioned the Crown to recommend to Parliament the great and necessary work of building more churches within the bills of mortality. The Commons had already instructed a committee to report what churches were wanting, and the Lower House of Convocation on 28th February 1710 had sent a deputation, with Atterbury its Speaker at its head, to the Speaker "to signify their readiness to promote the work." In reply to a message from the Queen recommending "so good and pious a design,"

[1] L. Campbell, *Lives of the Chancellors*, calls it Colegreen.

[2] Stanhope's *Queen Anne*, 479.

the Commons appointed a committee to report what was in hand of the fund for rebuilding St. Paul's, and what churches were wanting in London and Westminster. Their report, which was adopted by Resolution of the House on 29th March 1711, was that fifty new churches were necessary, computing 4750 souls to each church. In their address to the Crown the Commons stated that "Neither the long expensive war in which they were engaged nor the pressure of heavy debts under which they laboured should hinder them from granting whatever was necessary to accomplish so excellent a design." For the supply they granted that part of the duty on coals which had been devoted to the rebuilding of St. Paul's Cathedral. Zeal seems to have slackened in this cause. Mailland, writing in 1756, says that only ten of the fifty had been built, amongst them St. John's, Westminster, at a cost of £29,277; St. Mary Le Strand, at a cost of £16,341; and Bloomsbury, at a cost of £9793.

No more zealous Churchman lived at the end of the seventeenth and beginning of the eighteenth centuries than Dr. Thomas Bray, one of the original founders of the S.P.C.K. and afterwards of the S.P.G. He had visited America as the commissary of the Bishop of London in 1700. He wrote to Dr. Wake several times about the church-building project and the maintenance of the clergy of the new churches and parishes. One of these letters, dated the 12th December 1718, is interesting.

"I fear," says Dr. Bray, "we are to hear no more of our fifty new churches to be built in the suburbs. But that the remaining part of the Fund if continued is likely to be diverted to the Rebuilding of some of our old ones within the Liberties of the City. What they will have to answer for, who, by their Petitions for Diverting the Fund from its truly Christian and original Design, seem to prefer Pompous Edifices to the Edification of souls, I leave it to God to determine when the Account of the numerous souls committed to our charge shall be required at our Hands. As one having 'near 20,000 souls in my own cure,'" he recommends, to

get powers in the next Act to divide the great Parishes and to settle the limits of the fifty new Parishes to be taken out of them, where there are no new churches to make "the Chapels *pro tempore* Parochial," and to build new ones as temporary Tabernacles as was done after the fire, which may be built on leasehold sites, "there being eno' to build twenty such."

A Memorial circulated about the same time seems to foreshadow the modern "week end"-ing which has so affected London churches.

"There seems also a humour prevailing much more of late years than formerly among many Inhabitants of the Town, especially the wealthier sort, of keeping country houses and lodgings, as is evident from the great increase of Buildings in most of the Villages and Places within ten miles of London. Besides, it may not be unreasonable to suppose the Town to be more healthy than formerly, there having been no Plague of late years and the Openness of the new Streets as well as the late great supplies of water contributing very much to the Health of the Inhabitants."

Wake must have had strong recuperative power, for, during his archiepiscopate, if not before, he was constantly indisposed. In the summer of 1719 he went—as then did all invalids or semi-invalids who could afford it—to Bath and Bristol for the waters. His friend Wotton writes to him in August to say that he is glad his disease was at last found to be the stone. "I hope," says he, "since you have so early discovered y^e^ malady, that Dr. Mead" (the celebrated physician of the eighteenth century) "will set you up again so as to enjoy a better state of health than y^r^ Grace have had of late years." George I. was in Hanover, and, as a Lord Justice, Wake throughout August and September 1719 gets constant reports from Delafaye, the Secretary of the Privy Council, from Whitehall as to the doings of the British forces in Sweden and North Germany, and in Sicily. As to foreign affairs, Delafaye says on the 11th August, "the Czar by appearing at y^e^ mouth of

the River of Stockholm with his 500 galleys and 30,000 men, has driven the Swedes to make peace with y^e^ King as Elector, leaving him fully in possession of Bremen and Verden, and y^e^ alliance with His Majesty as King of Great Britain was forthwith to be renewed." Two days later he notifies the Primate of a secret treaty with the King of Prussia. In September Delafaye speaks of a Preliminary Convention with Sweden, who has "granted what we desired on behalf of y^e^ King of Prussia; so here is a Protestant Alliance established which will enable His Majesty to preserve our Religion, save y^e^ Kingdom of Sweden, and restore peace to y^e^ North, and indeed to all Europe."

One of Delafaye's from Whitehall in September 1719 announces that "several Bills are come from Ireland, including one inflicting the most terrible punishment known to male humanity (short of Death) on 'all unregistered Popish Priests and Ecclesiastics that do not depart thence by a time prefixt or come after that time.'" It is not strange that English statesmen two hundred years later have an Irish question to deal with.

In 1721, Wake took an active part in promoting "the Bill for suppressing blasphemy and profaneness," and the documents preserved among the Wake MSS. gives us a good picture of the interest he took in the matter. Probably the supposed wealth to be derived from the South Sea Bubble had had a bad effect upon Society's morals. Smollett says, "the adventurers, intoxicated by their imaginary wealth, pampered themselves with the rarest dainties and the most expensive wines that could be imported; they purchased the most sumptuous furniture, equipage, and apparel, tho' without taste or discernment; they indulged their criminal passions to the most scandalous excess; their discourse was the language of pride, insolence, and ostentation; they affected to scoff at religion and morality, and even to set heaven at defiance."

Early in the year an anonymous letter came to Wake complaining of "an abominable sett of young gentilemen, as they call themselves, distinguishing themselves at the same time as members of a Club to which they have given the name of the Hell-fire Club." . . . "They were very lately at a play, where they so affrighted a friend of mine with they'r monstrous talk as gave the agony of apprehension that Hell wou'd open instantly to receive 'em."

It appears from the names the writer gives that they were of good family.

Another similar letter to the archbishop says that God is—

"dayly contemn'd in most publick Companyes by a company of vile wretches y^{t} give themselves ye name of ye Hell-fire Club. . . . theirs some Ladyes among them . . . only they don'tt goe to y^{e} Taverne."

In conjunction with Lord Nottingham and Lord Trevor, Wake determined to move, and it was resolved to frame a Bill to meet the evil.

On 27th March 1721 the archbishop gets the draft Bill with a letter from the draftsman:

"My Lord Nottingham has perused and approved it, but submits it to y^{r} judgment. . . . Lord Nottingham hopes y^{r} Grace will take the first opportunity to move for leave to bring it in."

The care which Wake took in the matter is shown by his extant notes on the draft Bill. There is a rough set of notes on the Bill, line by line in his own writing, with an amended copy of such notes also in his own writing. Then he gets the Bill back from the draftsman with Wake's amendments incorporated, and a letter saying that Lord Trevor and Lord Nottingham have entirely approved the Bill "as modified by y^{r} Grace."

Then comes the draft of a very interesting letter

by Wake, dated 22nd April 1521, to (apparently) the draftsman :

" I went on Wednesday to the H. of Lords, where I received the Breviat of ye Bill from my Lord Not., and had some discourse wth his Ldship concerning it. I communicated the substance of it to two of my brethren and conferr'd with some of the other Lords about it. But had so little encouragement to proceed with it that I thought it more advisable to defer any present motion for leave to bring in such a bill than to do it at such a disadvantage as I must have done had I then gone on with it."

He goes on to say that he is dissatisfied with some of the clauses and is consulting " a worthy and judicious friend " and Lord Trevor.

There are elaborate notes for Wake's speeches (1) on moving for leave to bring in the Bill, covering two sides of foolscap and of which the last section is :

" All I propose is to strengthen the laws already in force—not to look back, but forward ; not to restrain men's opinions, but their open attempts and actions—

To support the religion established agst ye bold attempts yt are made agst it ;

To strengthen the Act of K. Wm., and preserve the peace of Religion.

(2) Upon moving for a Bill, &c., and
(3) After the 2nd Reading."

The Bill was not well framed. Its main provision was that if anyone spoke against the being of God, the doctrine of the Trinity or the inspiration of the Scriptures, or the doctrine of the Thirty-nine Articles, he should be liable to three months' imprisonment. It had an unfortunate course in the House of Lords. It was introduced by Lord Willoughby de Broke, who was Dean of Windsor. After the second reading Wake moved to have it committed, and was supported by the Bishops of London and Winchester and by Wake's friend, Chandler, Bishop of Worcester. But the bulk

of the peers opposed it, including the profligate Duke of Wharton, who pulled out of his pocket and quoted from an old family Bible, and Lord Peterboro' who said he did not desire a Parliamentary God. Even the Episcopal Bench was not unanimous for the Bill. White Kennet, another great ally of Wake, said it seemed like setting up an inquisition. In the end it was put off to a long day by sixty to thirty-one, and no more was heard of it.

Wake's endorsement on his notes is :

" This was a new cause of offence given to the Ministers, tho' I had a meeting with them about this Bill and their consent to appear for it. And here I was again deserted by my Brethren, as in the other Bill for Repealing the Act against occasional conformity." After saying that the Bill wanted amending, he goes on : " To excuse themselves one of my Brethren published a paper in print in which he vilely misrepresented the true design both of the Bill and those who appear'd for it. I thank God for the part I had in it : to shew at least my earnest desire to have some effectual care taken to suppress the crying sins of Blasphemy and Profanesse."

Something that Wake said in the Debate gave Ministers, especially Sunderland, much offence. He complained to Wake's friend, the Bishop of Lichfield, of it. Wake in his turn felt aggrieved and sent a letter to the Minister, of which the draft, corrected even to the point of being scarcely legible, is preserved. After saying that the Minister must have " very much mistaken " what the archbishop said, or the latter must have " said somewhat utterly contrary to what I intended to speak," and reminding Sunderland that he had often in Wake's hearing expressed his dislike of the liberties " that have been taken—in opposing the great and Fundamental doctrines of the Christian religion," and claiming that he had expressed this in his speech, goes on : " It surely must have been very strange for me after this to charge the spreading of these wicked doctrines upon the Ministry of which yr

Lordship is the chief. I cannot certainly tell whether I was not accused to have gone farther and to have treated his Majie himselfe otherwise than it became me in duty to do."

Of course Wake vigorously disclaims having said anything of the sort, and acknowledges that he has "had many obligations" to Sunderland, "which, however, you may trust me, I will always thankfully acknowledge." He winds up:

"Yr Lordship may have me as you please. If you think fit a Friend (such I have profess'd myselfe and am still willing to be)—But if I may not have that Honour I will, however, for a due sense of the favours I have received from you, whatever be the result of this transaction, always professe myself, my Lord, yr Lordship's much obliged humble servant, W. C."

Next day Sunderland writes a very respectful and friendly letter to the archbishop.

On the 28th April 1721 the Royal Proclamation is published calling attention to "certain Scandalous Clubs or Societies of young persons who meet together, and in the most impious and blasphemous manner insult the most Sacred Principles of our Holy Religion, and making provision for their suppression and punishment."

On the 7th May 1721 there was issued the Royal Letter of Directions to our archbishops and bishops for the Preserving of Unity in the Church and the Purity of the Christian Faith, particularly in the Doctrine of the Holy Trinity. These invited attention to the Acts of 13 Eliz. and 9 Will. III. for the punishment of persons preaching contrary to the Thirty-nine Articles, and impugners "by writing, printing, teaching, or advised speaking" of the Doctrine of the Trinity or the Scriptures. It was circulated with a letter from the archbishop. He had drafted a longer letter referring to the Act of Uniformity, but this seems to have dropped out of the letter actually sent.

His colleague of York and his successor at Canter-

bury, Potter of Oxford, " gratefully ackne the receipt of the Directions and Letter."

In July 1721, Wake gets news of the death of the stout old Cornish baronet, Sir Jonathan Trelawney, Bishop of Winchester, at the Palace at Chelsea of the see of Winchester. He had written only the preceding April to express his readiness to obey the archbishop's " commands of being at ye Bill against Blasphemy." There are few stranger figures among the bishops of the early eighteenth century. It is said that in his earliest episcopal days he excused himself for his much swearing by saying that he swore as a baronet and not as a bishop. He was urgent in his entreaties to get some good see from James II., and Mr. Hore suggests that it was the fact of his only getting Bristol that made him one of the seven bishops who were sent to the Tower. He was promoted to Exeter in 1689, and from thence to Winchester in 1707.

Burnet says that his promotion to Winchester " gave great disgust to many, he being considerable for nothing but his birth and his interest in Cornwall." His letters to Wake are numerous, most of them dated from Wolvesey : they express great veneration for and readiness to follow the lead of the Primate. Trelawney had not only taken the oaths to William and Mary, but had become a stout supporter of the Hanoverian dynasty. In a letter of his to Wake, dated the 2nd October 1717, he recounts how he had pressed on his Hampshire clergy in his visitation of them their " duty to our King." " I hope," he says, " I was not faint in my arguments or in my utmost contempt for that weakeling ye Pretender." He invites from the archbishop suggestions how in the rest of his visitation he may improve his charge, in what directions he is to enlarge, what particular to strengthen. The language of the charge seems to an ordinary reader already a little inflated. After saying that George I. will preserve them " from all ye devices of ye phanatics," he proceeds :

" And when he shall have run his course late and full of yeares and honours those who shall y^{n} be alive have in view a Prince His Royal Highness of Wales who will rise upon you as ye sun with fresh glory and blessings as he goes on. Every action will be crown'd with a new beame of lustre ; and as he encreases so he will still more rejoyce all those who love as he does our Constitution wch he studys and ye more he knows of it the more he loves it, as he himself ye more he is known ye more he is and ever will be belov'd admir'd I had almost sayd adored by all true Englishmen."

Of the Princess of Wales he is equally if not more flattering :

" She does not take our religion upon consent merely because she finds it the state Settlement of the country, she is pleas'd to examine diligently wherein and why it differs from that she hath seen profes'd in other countries . . . sifts it narrowly to discern whether it be ye seed of ye good husbandman or the tares of ye enemy."

Trelawney was succeeded at Winchester by the Bishop of Norwich, Charles Trimnell, a Whig and able supporter of Ministers : but he held Winchester for less than two years, being succeeded in 1723 by Dr. Richard Willis.

Wake was appealed to to stop the performances of certain stage players within the boundaries of the old archbishop's palace at Canterbury. A dramatic representation, thought some of the citizens of Canterbury, ill befitted a spot which, if not part of the cathedral precincts, was hallowed by associations such as belonged to the house where Primates had once lived. The matter was not free from difficulty, for apparently such rights as the archbishop had in the site in question had been demised to a tenant,—a lady who bore the honoured name of Juxon. Wake sympathised with the objectors, and wrote letters to Mrs. Juxon, strongly urging her to avoid any outrage on his and the objectors' feelings. Mrs. Juxon after some pressure yielded. Through Dr.

Sydall, one of the archbishop's officials at Canterbury, Mr. Jacob, " a worthy and learned gentleman " of Canterbury, and a Justice of the Peace, interviewed Mr. Tollet, the master player, who asked for a night or two more, and after that they would not act. To make a " quiet end of this matter," Sydall reports that he gave leave for two nights more. Sydall writes to the archbishop stating these facts, and goes on :

" Since this I have had a message from Mrs. Juxon solliciting me to intercede with your Grace for but one week more after this." He urges " that Mr. Tollet and his company are very civil, sober, and orderly people, that they have been at great charge in coming and bringing and setting up their things, and that they were incouraged and invited by the Gentry to come into these parts." He goes on, " Since I have stirr'd in this matter I find that too many of the best people are willing to think more favourably of Players and their occupation than the Law does, and even the Justices are not very forward to put it in Execution against them."

Wake incurred the serious displeasure of the eccentric William Whiston. Whiston was a man of learning and research, his position at this time was that he accepted the Doctrine of the Trinity but rejected the Athanasian Creed. Wake had shown considerable kindness to Whiston, but the latter complains to the archbishop in the following unmeasured language : " Since you have been removed from Bugden to Lambeth your sentiments and conduct have been diametrically opposite to y^{r} former sentiments and conduct." In the course of a very long letter, Whiston professes: "I shall sorely lament your Grace's Fall from your old *pure and peaceable Christianity* as did ye Athanasians ye Fall of ye great Hosius from their moral and pernicious Heresy."

The death of Robinson, Bishop of London, in April 1723, caused a considerable move among the bishops. Gibson's promotion to London was, as one of Wake's episcopal correspondents writes, expected by everybody. Wake liked and esteemed White Kennet, now Bishop of

Peterborough. They had written on the same side in the Convocation controversy, and he now seems to have favoured Kennet's promotion. But the Prime Minister writes on 14th April 1723 to the archbishop :

" I have received the favour of your Grace's Letter concerning the vacant Bishopricks, and your sentiments upon that subject . . . His Majesty . . . has declared his intention that the Bishop of Bangor shall be translated to the See of Lincoln, and that Dr. Baker shall go to Bangor."

This was carried out, Dr. Reynolds who, in 1721, had succeeded Hoadly at Bangor being appointed to Lincoln, and Dr. Baker becoming Bishop of Bangor.

In the early years of his archiepiscopate, Wake had part in certain negotiations, having for their object a closer union between the Gallican Church and the Church of England. Jansenism had considerable popularity among the French during the end of the seventeenth and beginning of the eighteenth centuries : and the Gallican Church was not unwilling to soften off some of the extreme doctrines of the papal creed in hope of making Protestant converts. At the head of the Sorbonne, the theological faculty of France, was Dr. Lewis Ellis Du Pin, a learned man, and another member of the faculty was Dr. Piers, who, to denote his extraction from an Irish family of that name, called himself de Girardin. The chaplaincy to Lord Stair, the English ambassador at Paris, was held at the time by Beauvoir, a man of enlightened views, and a friend and correspondent of Archbishop Wake. He had also made the acquaintance of Du Pin and some of his colleagues at the Sorbonne.

Pasquies Quesnel had published *Le Nouveau Testament en Francais*, hoping thereby to propagate Jansenism. It was approved by Noailles, Bishop of Chalons, and afterwards Archbishop of Paris, and made converts. Gallican leanings to what we may call Modernism were not at all liked either by Louis XIV. or his friends the Jesuits, so they got Clement XI. to issue his Bull, known

as Unigenitus, dated the 8th September 1713. This condemned Jansenism in general, and in particular one hundred and ten propositions extracted from Quesnel's book. It reaffirmed the Ultra Montane faith without modification or any suggestion of compromise. There was much theological excitement in France. Noailles and many eminent people in Church and State refused to receive it, and talked of a General Council. As was to be expected, the serious ecclesiastical position formed the subject of talks between Beauvoir and his Sorbonne friends, who were aware of his friendship and correspondence with Archbishop Wake.

The immediate occasion of direct communication between Wake and Du Pin seems to have been a dinner party at the Sorbonne, at which Beauvoir was present in December 1718, and which is thus mentioned in a letter from Beauvoir to Wake, dated the 11th of that month :

"My Lord,—I had the honour of your Grace's letter of the 27th ulto. last Sunday and therefore could not answer it sooner. Dr. Du Pin, with whom I dined last Monday, and with the Syndic of the Sorbonne and 2 other Doctors," gave him, says Beauvoir, some information about a Dictionary, and continues, "They talked as if the whole Kingdom was to appeal to a future General Council, &c. They wished for a union with the Church of England as the most effectual means to unite all the Western Churches. Dr. Du Pin desired me to give his duty to your Grace."

In his reply to this letter, Wake requests Beauvoir to make his compliments to Du Pin as one "by whose labours he had profited for many years."

This kindly message emboldened Du Pin to address Wake direct in a letter of thanks, which winds up as follows :

"One thing I will add with your kind permission, viz., that I earnestly desire that some way might be found of initiating a union between the Anglican and

Gallican Churches. We are not so very far separated from one another in most things as to preclude the possibility of our being mutually reconciled. Would that all the Christians were one fold."

Wake replies on the 24th February 1718. Not unnaturally, but perhaps owing to timidity of being too positive in his advances, he enlarges upon the merits of the Church of England, its purity in faith, worship, government, and discipline. "There are few things in it," he says "which even you would desire to see changed." "There is nothing to mark us with the black mark of Heresy." He urges him to go forward in opposing the Pope, and says, "Perhaps this may be the beginning of a new Reformation, in which not only the best Protestants but also a great part of the Roman Church may agree."

This rather important letter did not stop at Du Pin. M. Patritius Piers de Girardin comes on the scene. He, about this time, delivered an oration before the faculty, in which he said that the quarrel between the Gallican and Roman Churches might possibly induce the Anglican Church to return into the bosom of the Roman Church on the Gallican basis. Du Pin was apparently so pleased at this, or at any rate so struck by it, that he showed Wake's letter of the 24th February 1718 not only to M. Girardin but even to Cardinal De Noailles, Archbishop of Paris. Wake now got a new correspondent, viz. Girardin, and he wrote both to him and to Du Pin emphasizing what seems rather a platitude in such a discussion that fundamentals were to be distinguished from less important details. But the Sorbonne doctors had got something to start on. The Abbé Courayer joined with Du Pin and Girardin in the work they had in hand, making the subject of Anglican Orders the special object of his enquiries. They set to work to draw up what they called a *Commonitorium de Modis ineundæ pacis inter Ecclesias Anglicanam et Gallicanam*, showing what was of primary

and what of lesser obligation. This was to be approved by Cardinal de Noailles, and then sent to Wake.

There is a valuable epitome of this document in Maclaine's Appendix to Mosheim's *Ecclesiastical History*, which is also set out by Canon Perry in his *Ecclesiastical History* in vol. iii. 57. It is a long document, with what Maclaine calls a tedious Preface, and we do not propose to repeat it at length. It was read before the Sorbonne, approved, and sent to Archbishop Wake. It takes the form of a comment on the English Thirty-nine Articles. Perhaps a few points in it may be usefully adverted to here. Articles 1–5 the framer of the document accepts; tradition as "confirming and illustrating" doctrine found in the Bible is to be safeguarded in 6. The Apocrypha is to be Deutero-Canonical. In 10, Power must mean *potentia proxima*, since without a remote power of doing good works it could not be imputed. He has little to quarrel with in 11 and 12, Justification and Good Works taken together; 12 is harsh, but a matter for theological discussion rather than a term of communion. In 19 he wishes to add "under lawful pastors" in the definition of the Church. On the Article as to Purgatory, Du Pin observes "that souls must be purged, that is purified from all defilement of sin, before they are admitted to celestial bliss; that the Church of Rome doth not admit this to be done by fire, that Indulgences are only relaxations or remissions of temporal penalties in this life; that Roman Catholics do not worship the Cross, nor Relics, nor Images, nor Saints before their Images, but only pay them an external respect not of a religious nature, which anyhow is a matter of indifference." Under Article 25 he wants the 5 Sacraments acknowledged, whether instituted by Christ or not. He approves 26 and 27. He is willing to omit Transubstantiation from 28, and would have that part of it run, "That the Bread and Wine are really changed into the Body and Blood of Christ which last are truly

and really received by all, though none but the faithful derive any benefit from them." He would have Communion in both kinds left indifferent. On 31 he is stiffer, and maintains that the Sacrifice of Christ is not only commemorated but continued in the Eucharist, and that every communicant offers Him along with the priest. On 32 he will allow priests to marry where local Church Law allows. On 36, English ordinations are not to be null. He denies the supremacy of the Pope. Lastly, in the discipline and worship of the Church of England, he sees nothing amiss. The Roman Pontiff need not be consulted about the union of the English and French Churches: should he be troublesome, there must be a General Council. The bishops on both sides must discuss details.

The project engrossed much attention in Paris.[1] Stanhope was over there on special business, and both he and Lord Stair are said to have been congratulated on it by persons of high political and social position. The Abbé Du Bois was Minister of Foreign Affairs, and he, as also Fleury, Attorney-General, were not unfavourable to the negotiations: even the Regent, the Duc D'Orleans, was not hostile.

Wake himself, with his natural and acquired habits of caution, seems to have got nervous by the summer of 1718, and on 30th August we find him writing to Beauvoir:

"My task is pretty hard and I scarce know how to manage in this matter. To go any further than I have done, even as a Divine of the Church of England, may meet with censure, and as Archbishop of Canterbury I cannot treat with these gentlemen. This w[d] only expose me to the censure of doing what in my station ought not to be done without the King's knowledge. . . . I cannot tell what to say to Dr. Du Pin. If he thinks we are to take their direction what to retain and what to give up, he is utterly mistaken; . . . they may depend upon it I shall always account our Church

[1] *Blog. Brit.*, 4090.

to stand upon an equal foot with theirs ; and that we are no more to receive laws from them than to impose any on them. In short, the Church of England is free, is orthodox. She has a plenary authority within herself, and has no need to recur to any other Church to direct her what to retain and what to do. If they mean to deal with us they must lay down this for the foundation, that we are to deal with one another on equal terms."

Wake also wrote an important letter to Du Pin and another to Girardin. These letters were in Latin : the Archbishop seems to have thought the worthies of the Sorbonne were lacking in information as to portions of the English formularies, and he also felt safe in stirring up their anti-papal ideas.

Of this letter to Du Pin he writes to Beauvoir :

" I have described the method of making bishops in our Church. I believe he (Du Pin) will be equally surprised and pleased with it. . . . The rest of my letters both to him and to Dr. Piers (Girardin) is a venture which I know not how they will take, to convince them in breaking off from the Pope, and going one step further than they have yet done in their opinion of his authority, so as to leave him merely a primacy of place and honour, and that merely by ecclesiastical authority, as he was once bishop of the Imperial City."

Wake's own view of a possible reunion and the basis of it is well summed up in another letter of his to Beauvoir :

" If we could once divide the Gallican Church from the Roman, a reformation in other matters would follow as a matter of course. The scheme that to me seems most likely to prevail is to agree in the independence (in all matters of authority) of every National Church on any others and their right to determine all matters that arise within themselves ; and for points of doctrine, to agree as far as possible in all articles of any moment (as in effect we already do or easily may) : and for other matters to allow a difference till God shall

bring us to a union in these also. One only thing sh^d be provided for to purge out of the public offices of the Church such things as hinder a perfect communion in the Service of the Church, so that whenever any come from us to them or from them to us we may all join together in prayers and the holy Sacraments with each other."

Unfortunately for the projected union, when Wake's letters reached Paris, Du Pin was dead. Moreover, by this time Rome was putting her foot down. The Jesuits spread a report that Cardinal de Noailles and the Jansenists were truckling to Heretics. De Girardin was sent for to Court and, under threat from the Abbé Du Bois of being lodged in the Bastille, had to give up all Wake's letters and his own. Du Bois, who wanted to curry favour enough at the Vatican to get a Cardinal's hat, sent on the letters to the authorities there, who sternly forbad any further negotiations.

Du Bois got his red hat, and Pope Clement XI., having read Wake's letters, declared it was a pity the author of such profound letters was not a member of the Roman Church. And this was the end of the negotiations.

But the interest of Gallican Divines in the Church of England, and their esteem for and admiration of the learning and wisdom of its then Primate did not drop with the lapse of the reunion negotiations. Among those who had been working with Du Pin and de Girardin was Dr. Peter Francis Courayer, a Benedictine and Canon Regular and Principal Librarian of the Cathedral Church of St. Geneviève at Paris. Courayer's attention had been specially drawn to the validity of Anglican orders, or rather to the attacks on such validity made by Romish controversialists. One Renaudot had written against their validity a work which was published posthumously, and to which Courayer contemplated a reply. Having heard how gracious the English archbishop had been to his friends at the

Sorbonne, Courayer on the 23rd July 1721 addressed a Latin letter to Wake. The great object of his inquiries was the consecration of Bishop Barlow of Nag's Head fame. If the " actus " of this could be found all would be well. It is not, says he in the Canterbury Registry, " sed forte apud Ecclesiam aliquam e suffraganeis consecratus est Barlous et in tabulis hujus Ecclesiæ Actus occurret." Wake was no idler: the subject was one he had studied and had near his heart. The " actus " could not be found: but he sent the father a Latin letter of no less than twelve sheets closely written giving a satisfactory account of the certainty of Barlow's consecration. The French father and the archbishop became close friends and correspondents. In the following six years Wake wrote to Courayer no less than forty-five letters—many of them lengthy, learned, and laborious.

The first Latin letter about Barlow was supplemented by an English one written in November 1721, from which a good idea of how the archbishop dealt with his correspondent may be gleaned. In it he says, referring to a letter from Courayer:

" I have been ever since I received it taken up in making new enquiries and further searches to satisfie your new demands upon me. The time I have for anything of this kind is so very little that I am forced to go on slowly in these matters, and spend a week in doing that which, were it not for my other engagements, might be dispatched in a day. . . . I cannot but look on this whole controversy as a quarrell sought against us by those of our own country who differ from us in other matters. . . . I am sorry to say our English Priests have shewn themselves extremely faulty in the management of this cause. . . . I may venture to affirm that the Episcopal succession has nowhere been better preserved than in the Church of England, nor do I believe any Church in the world can support it with more ample or authentic Records than we have done and can do."

This is in spite of what Wake calls " several mis-

fortunes in this particular." Mary, he suggests, had tampered with " Acts " of Henry VIII. and Edward VI. In the Commonwealth " a new desolation " came upon our public records. The archbishop's registers and the records of Canterbury had suffered in the Fire of London and another fire at Canterbury about 1690. He then shows how he had searched about Barlow :

" Mr. S., Subdean of Exeter, is returned to my house : he called at Wells in his return hither and made the best enquiries he could about Bishop Barlow. His Register was wholly destroyed in the ravage made of that church, as I suppose in the Duke of Monmouth's Rebellion : so that there is no hope of anything from thence. I have the like accounts from St. Asaph and St. David's. At Chichester his register remains, but has nothing in it but institutions to benefices and other the like Episcopal Acts. He was buryed in his Cathedral at Chichester : but no epitaph of him remains from whence to gather any account of him."

Wake details further inquiries he had made of the Dean of Durham, Mr. Strype, and the Bishop of Peterborough. Courayer had some idea of writing a new History of the Reformation, and had asked for information on other points affecting the English Church ; and Wake winds up his letter by referring to Strype's then recently published *Ecclesiastical Memorials of Henry VIII., Edward VI., and Mary*, to his *Annals of Elizabeth*, and *Lives of Parker Grindal and Whitgift*.

On 20th April (O.S.) 1722, Wake writes from Lambeth :

" I am still of opinion that if God shd continue you in life and health it wd be an usefull work out of the severall histories that have been published of our Reformation to draw up one Compleat History that might fully suffice for all. . . . I shall be glad to hear that the Codex of our Ecclesiastical Laws which I took the liberty to send you has come to your hands. You will see there the *Concordia Sacordotii et Imperii* in our English Church, that we are still under the same Canonical Discipline and Epis-

copal Government we ever were; and have done nothing more than to lay aside such Canons and Constitutions as we have found to be contrary to the Word of God, the laws of the Realm, or the Prerogative of the Crown. The rest even those that were used before the Reformation still continuing in force with us. So that our succession is as uninterrupted in the discipline of our Church as in that of our Episcopacy, in which there never has been that we know the least breach."

Wake's letters give a picture, and it is a pleasing picture of himself. He writes again to Courayer on the 9th December 1721. After referring to the latter being unable to get permission from the French Church authorities to publish the book he had in hand, Wake proceeds:

"I cannot but own myself somewhat scandalised at this procedure. What are these men afraid of? Do they apprehend that our Episcopal successions and consecrations should be made appear to be better founded than they thought it had been? But why shd they not desire if possible to be convinced of this? Why shd they not wish us to be lesse irregular than they supposed us to be? . . . God knows that we are as carefull to continue the true succession of our Episcopacy and value ourselves as much upon it as any in the Roman Church. He knows that we have done it; and to Him we leave it to judge between us whether this stone of offence shd not be removed and good men satisfied what the true state of the matter is, and that there is no obstacle on this account to our union if other points could be adjusted.

"Our good friend the Abbé Girardin being still here I have desired him to take care to get Mr. Strype's *Memoirs* and Anthony Wood's *Athenæ Oxon* for you. I cannot commend either of these as just histories to you, but you will meet many things in both that are not easy to be found elsewhere; and must make your own use as you have occasion of them. . . . While the Abbé has had the opportunity of seeing the confirmation of 1 bishop and the consecration of 2. When he returns he will give you a full account of what he observed in both.

"I wish, my good father, I were more worthy of

your good opinion than I fear I am. Report magnifies men's characters at a distance : but few answer the expectations which from thence is raised from them. I blesse God I know my own mediocrity ; and am not exalted in any opinion of myselfe. God has given me an honest mind ; desirous to act with integrity in everything, and having long conversed with men of all persuasions and found some to value in almost every way, I have learnt not only to bear with those who differ from me, but notwithstanding any such differences to love them ; to think charitably of them, and to hope that a God of infinite love and goodnesse will pitty and accept of us all. If in this I am mistaken I am sure I err on the best side ; and as those thoughts shall never make me either negligent in the search for what is agreeable to God's will or prejudiced against it tho' never so contrary to my present notion ; so I am persuaded that by keeping up such a universal charity in my mind for those who in the integrity of their hearts differ from me, I shall be always the best prepared to submit to a reasonable conviction and to obtain God's pardon for any involuntary errors I may after all happen to continue in. Cassander, Erasmus, Grotius, and the like writers are, I freely own, my great favourites : but as I deserve not to be compared with them in anything but the like Christian and charitable dispositions, so neither wd I be thought so vain as once to think myselfe (in learning or capacity) like to them. My picture was some time ago finished at the desire of some persons : the plate is entirely worn out and the copies of it no longer to be had. I sent my last by our Friend to you ; and have not one more for myselfe or any other remaining. . . .

" I have added a very few strictures on the 2 sheets sent me of your book, which I do, without compliment, not so much approve as admire, when I consider it as the work of a stranger to our Constitution. The error concerning the restitution of temporalities only after consecration is what some of our best writers have run into. The practice is no other at this time, nor I believe has been in the memory of man. It is founded upon the Statute law of this realm ; and I am confident you might venture it without danger of being reproved for it. But I wd not have Truth itself vindicated with that which is not true, tho' I were sure it wd never be discovered : and by comparing the dates of our bishops'

consecrations as they stand in our *Fasti* published by Le Neve, which I see you have with the writs in Rymer for the restitution of temporalities, you will find many instances of bishops who have had them by Grace from our Princes before they were ever consecrated bishops."

In another letter, dated 29th October 1722, Wake gives rather amusingly his opinion of the authorities for a History of the Reformation :

" Strype is honest tho' not entertaining and always writes upon good authority. Bishop Burnet's records are faithfully collected and his *History* must be tryed by them : Heylin is rash and often mistaken : Fuller not to be relyed upon : Collier writes all for a party, but I have not read enough of him to judge of his care."

We have given Wake's letters above because we think a man is best portrayed historically in and by his own words. Another letter from Croydon House, dated 9th July 1724, gives Wake's views on points about which Courayer had asked him and which are of public interest at the present day.

After saying his eyes had been so indisposed with a rheum that he could not for a long while read or write, he says :

" The Licence granted by Archbishop Grindal's Vicar-General to a Scot Presbyterian to officiate here in England, I freely own it is not what I shd have approved of, yet dare not condemn. I blesse God that I was born and have been bred in an Episcopal Church ; which I am convinced has been the Government established in the Christian Church from the very time of the Apostles. But I shd be unwilling to affirm that where the ministry is not Episcopal there is no Church nor any true administration of the Sacraments. And very many there are among us who are zealous for Episcopacy, yet dare not go so far as to annul the ordinances of God performed by any other ministry. See for this in Bishop Andrew's *Opuscula* his letters to Du Moulin. You will there find one of the most tenacious asserters of the Episcopal Government, nevertheless far from unchurching all the other Reformed Churches for want of it. And in the case

you mention who can say how far a Bishop may have power to licence a person not rightly ordained to officiate in the Church committed to his jurisdiction. In the meantime you know your Schoolmen have been far from censuring Presbyterian ordinations; and yet their opinions had no effect to prejudice the Episcopacy of your Church in which they lived. And should I (erroneously) consider such an ordination in some circumstances valid, yet I do not see how that wd affect my own orders, which I must always prefer exceedingly before the other. At present our constitution is otherwise settled; nor can any archbishop or bishop licence any man to officiate or administer the holy Sacraments, especially that of the Blessed Eucharist, who is not by an episcopal ordination qualified for it."

Later on he answers Courayer's query about the Sacrifice in the Eucharist:

"To your other point in your letter about the Sacrifice of the Masse, I will in one word tell you what I take to have been all along the sense of our Church concerning it. We have from the beginning of the Reformation utterly deny'd any such propitiatory sacrifice as the Council of Trent establishes in it. For what you call a commemorative or representative sacrifice, tho' we think those terms very improper, we have never that I know of made any other exception against it; and some of our writers have been over zealous in their assertion of it. As to the change made in our Communion office in the second book of King Edward VI. from that of the first, I have two observations to offer to your consideration with relation to this point. (1) That Bucer, who was chiefly consulted with by Cranmer with regard to those changes in all his observations upon that first form of Edward VI., nowhere that I remember makes any exception against such a sacrifice as you mention or offers any change to be made on that account. (See his *Scripta Anglicana* fol.) The other observation I would make as to that matter is, that in the year 1551 Cranmer published his work against Bishop of Winchester upon the subject of this holy Sacrament. His last part is entirely upon the subject of the sacrifice. In this he fully rejects and confutes the doctrine of a propitiatory sacrifice

in the Eucharist, but for the other he excepts not either against the words or the thing. He allows of Peter Lombard's explication of the Sacrifice there offered, which, if I remember aright, is much the same as your letter expresses. Now the Common Prayer Book of Edward VI. was at that very time under review. It was published the next year, 1552. Cranmer had the main hand in it; and it is not likely that he had any regard in the changes that were made to any commemorative Sacrifice; against which in his own book, written about the same time upon that very subject, he made no exception.

"These books I have in my Library at Lambeth, and I hope you have them in yours. But as I am now in the country and depend much upon my memory; so I flatter myselfe you will excuse me if I make any mistake by trusting to it. As for myselfe I freely own I have no notion of any real sacrifice that is only commemorative. And for that reason do not concern myselfe but for your satisfaction in that way of speaking at all."

There is another letter of Wake's bearing on re-ordination of Presbyterians. One Horner was a native of Switzerland and had received Presbyterian orders there. He acted in Paris as chaplain to Sir Luke Schaub, with whom he came over to England. He desired to qualify himself for clerical work in the British Isles. Wake writes of him under date 14th January 1722:

"I have ordained Mr. Horner both Deacon and Priest and thereby received him into the ministry of the Church of England. This is a work that gives the most offence of any to the other Reformed Churches; but I must agree with you that I know no government older than Calvin's time, but what was Episcopal in the Church of Christ."

Courayer's great work, called *A Dissertation on the Validity of the Ordination of the English and of the Succession of the Bishops of the Anglican Church*, was published in 1723. A single quotation may be made from the English translation of it:

"The validity of the English ordinations stands

upon the strongest evidence, has the most authenticated acts, the most express testimonies, the most uncontested facts to oppose to fable and forgery, to mistaken reasonings and unauthenticated deductions; the Roman custom of re-ordaining English priests 'is contrary to all the received maxims of the Church in the matter of re-ordination, and it is founded upon opinions that are abandoned and upon doubts that have no foundation.'"

But the task that Courayer was engaged on was doubtless known to the Roman authorities before 1723. He knew he was in some peril, and his friend at Lambeth knew it too, and was ready to give him asylum when needed.

On 19th May (O.S.) 1722, Wake writes:

"As for your public affairs, I trust in God that He will not only defend the truth, but protect those He is pleased to make use of in the defence of it. Shd the case be otherwise, M. de G. (Giaradin) will tell you that we are not here so narrow either in our charity or our inclinations as not to know how to value such men as you are, tho' they still continue to differ from us. We hope, notwithstanding our differences, to be together united in the glorious fellowship of the Church triumphant. Why may we not be as well united in the Church? A Catholic love and spirit may well consist with a variety of judgment in respect to the doctrines of Christ. In all essentials we are agreed. I am sure had we liked at any time within the first five centuries, the subscription of the Nicene and Constantinopolitan Creed wd have entitled us to the common name and title of Catholic Christians; were it not for the love of dominion of the Court of Rome the case might be the same now. However, I will never reckon him estranged from the Church of Christ here whom I hope and am persuaded He will receive hereafter. My principles are Catholic; my heart is the same; and my love and prayers shall be so too. If I live, and any unhappy accident drives any of you hither, I will endeavour to shew you that I do not in vain pretend to this character. I may err, but I will not be a heretic. I may, and do separate from the Pope and his tyranny; yet for all that I neither am nor will be a schismatic. In this

disposition I live, and if in this disposition I die, I shall not fear any anathemas from the Vatican fulminated against me. To yourselfe and all charitable and good Christians I am and will ever professe myselfe,—A faithful and loving friend and brother in Christ Jesus,

" W. CANTUAR."

But by 1726 Courayer's position had become full of risk, and Archbishop Wake writes to him on 12th September in that year a letter in which, after referring to a report of the Father's papers having been seized, he says :

" I can hardly think the assembly of your Bishops will venture for the sake of gratifying some men's private resentments against you to determine a point of so great moment as the doctrine of the Sacrifice, and particularly to carry it to that extreme which you shew your Church never yet to have defined and some of your greatest Divines not to admit of."

He concludes his letter :

" My good Father, take all the care you can of yourselfe and your papers. Go on steadily in the course you are in. God, I trust, will preserve you from the hands of your enemies and make you a happy instrument of bringing our two Churches somewhat nearer to a Union than they have hitherto been. Should your good endeavours herein expose you to any such dangers as should oblige you even to leave your own country, you may depend upon a safe and honourable retreat here ; and that without changing your communion or renouncing any principles which you think to be true, tho' different from ours. . . .

" If you need any good offices in France, I have again bespoke Mr. Robinson's kindnesse to you while he is attending the Court at Fontainebleau. You may safely apply to Mr. Tyrwhit, our Ambassador's chaplain, whom Mr. Robinson entirely trusts and assures me you and I may securely trust with any thing we desire to have done by him. Farewell, my good friend, and continue to love him who is with the truest esteem, Reverend Father, your truly affectionate friend,

" W. CANT."

" CROYDON, *Sept.* 21, (O.S.) 1726."

In November and December of the same year there are further letters repeating the offer of a refuge :

" If you are in danger you know where you may be not only in safety but respected as you deserve. As to what you propose in your letter, I cannot direct you better than to take Mr. Robinson's advice and by him Mr. Walpole's, whether you shd present your book (I mean both this Defence, &c., and your former Dissertation) to the King, Prince, and Princesse. If they think it fit to be done you will pray Mr. Walpole's favour to do it. He is coming speedily into England, and will be your best friend at our Court should you have any occasion for their favour. I would not have you by any means suffer upon account of what you have written in this controversie, and I hope you will not. If you should, it is no harm to think beforehand whither to retire for safety."

Wake seems to have offered to help Courayer's publishing expenses. On 7th December he writes :

" I do not pretend to merit anything of you by my offers of contributing towards any new corrections that may be made in or additions to your books. . . . I hope you will meet with no occasion for either assistance or protection, that you will continue free and undisturbed in your present retirement from the world. But if it should be otherwise, and you shd be forced under your doubtful circumstances to seek a refuge elsewhere, it may not be altogether uselesse to you that you know whither to go ; and enjoy both the liberty of your conscience and a provision against the danger of want in a strange country."

The Mr. Robinson referred to in the above letters was afterwards Sir Thomas Robinson, whom Newcastle made leader of the House of Commons in 1754. He was a failure in that position, having been too long resident as a diplomat abroad. He was made Lord Grantham in 1760. He was at the time of these letters Secretary to Horace Walpole.

Courayer, though invited to find a home in England, had expressed doubts whether it was a good country

for a religious man to reside in. In his letter last quoted the archbishop deals with this point, and also gives an interesting picture of his own life :

" Your observation," says he to Courayer, " of our country with respect to religion is but too true. Our divisions are many ; and the liberty taken by men in treating of matters of faith and doctrine is much beyond what either our laws permit or it were to be wished our government shd suffer. . . . All I can say is that no care is wanting among our clergy to defend the Christian Faith against all assaults, and that I believe no age or nation has produced more or better writings against Atheists, Deists, Socinians, Arians, and all other the like libertines than our country has done and continues daily to do. And for such as separate from the established Church, I may boldly say nothing of argument has been offered by them to justify their separation that has not been often and fully answered by us. This is all we can do : Iniquity in practice God knows abounds too much among us, chiefly in the two extremes, the highest and lowest ranks of men. The middle sort are serious and religious. . . . For myself I live almost a monastic life. I have a large and numerous family, and I keep it under the best regulation I can. We have the service of God within ourselves and that in public in my Chappell and house four times a day. We live orderly and peaceably together. And tho' the necessity of business draws a great number of persons to me, yet I reduce even that as much as possible to certain times ; and then eat openly with my friends two days in the week. To the Court I seldome go, save when obliged to attend my duty either in the public or cabinet Councills. And when in parliament time I am rather faulty in not going so often as I should to it than in attending constantly upon it. So that I use my best endeavours to live clear of the world and dye by degrees to it. My age and infirmities (being now ready to enter on my 70th year) admonish me to look upon myselfe as a citizen of another Country and ready to go from hence to it. Your prayers for a happy passage to it will be a seasonable and friendly help added to my own. In return I shall not be wanting to wish you all happiness in your longer pilgrimage upon earth. And tho' we go by somewhat different paths, yet we do in effect

pursue the same road, so I trust we shall meet again at our journey's end."

Courayer was in high esteem with English divines, and the University of Oxford conferred on him the degree of D.C.L. in August 1727[1]; but the French dignitaries were against him. Cardinal de Noailles was no longer to be counted a friend of his cause. The Bishop of Marseilles and other prelates were opposed to him. So in 1728 he took refuge under Wake's wing in England. He was kindly received, the Crown gave him a pension. He died a Roman Catholic in 1776 at the patriarchal age of ninety-five, and is buried in the cloisters of Westminster Abbey.

The last letter in the correspondence gives us an even later picture of the venerable Primate. Under date 31st January 1727 he writes :

" I have been much out of order this winter in my health and am now entered on the 70th year of my life, and am by both admonished to think of my removall to another and a better state."

He still hankers after a union of Churches and maintains his hostility to the Papal position :

" I heartily wish," he says, " for the Church's peace to live in charity with all Catholic Christians ; and I purpose by God's assistance in this disposition to die. Would all men be as clear and candid in stating the other matters in difference between us as you have been in the Sacrifice and ordination, I believe we should soon come to an agreement, or at least to a forbearance of one another in love. But, alas, you have an obstacle that till it be removed will frustrate all our good intentions and desires. The Court of Rome can never bear to depart from her dominion, and Christedome can never be truly reformed while that exorbitant power stands. . . . I say no more. Let every one who reads the Gospel of Christ and the History of Christianitie at its first plantation and in its purest state, compare it with the pomp and pride of that Court ; and say if they can

[1] Hore's *History of the Church of England*, i. 340.

that ever Christ appointed such a Vicar or St. Peter ever dreamt of such a Successor."

As Visitor of All Souls, Oxford, Wake in 1721 made a Decree establishing the absolute claim according to the Founder's Statutes of the Founder's Kinsmen—though related in the most remote degree—to be elected Fellows of the College. Similar decrees were in fact made by Wake's successors, Archbishops Potter, Herring, and Secker.

In 1721 and 1722 the Episcopal Bench was well to the fore in the Lords on a Bill which the Commons had passed on the petition of the Quakers, asking for the omission from the form of Affirmation allowed them by law of the words " in the presence of Almighty God." That petition set out in forcible terms the Quakers' grievance that the words complained of had to them the semblance of an oath which their principles would not allow them to use, that by reason of their scruple to use the existing Affirmation they had fallen under great sufferings by imprisonment or loss of properties, they not being able to answer in Courts of Equity, take probates of wills, prove debts on commissions of bankruptcy, verify their entries on the Leather or Candle Acts, take up their freedom, be admitted to poll for their freeholds, give evidence for others, nor to declare their fidelity to the present Government.

The opposition so far as the bishops were concerned in the Lords was led by Atterbury of Rochester, who spoke of the Quakers as " a set of people who were hardly Christians " ; and on 17th January, when the House was going into Grand Committee on the Bill, progress was delayed by a petition of the London Clergy against the Bill.

The main grounds of the petition were danger to the recovery of tithe by the clergy, the weakening of the oath's sanctity, the wounding of " the minds of good men," and the triumph of the enemies of Christianity

at such "condescensions" by a Christian legislature to those who, rejecting baptism, could not, according to the uniform judgment and practice of the Catholic Church, be deemed worthy of the sacred name of Christian. This petition, as Townshend pointed out in the debate, was presented by Dawes of York, the stiffest of High Churchmen and supporter of the Divine Right of Kings—not as apparently it should have been by the Bishop of London or the Archbishop of Canterbury. A spirited debate arose on the question of receiving or rejecting the petition. Wake, as well as Potter his successor, then Bishop of Oxford, voted for its being received. But the Whig bishops were numerous and opposed it, and in the end the petition was rejected by sixty to twenty-four. In Committee Wake moved that the Quakers' affirmation might not be admitted in Courts of judicature but among themselves—whatever this may have meant,—and the Archbishop of York moved that the Quakers' affirmation should not go in any suit at law for tithes; but both propositions were rejected by large majorities. Both Wake and Potter voted against the Bill in its final stage, but it passed into law. They, however, joined in a protest against it.

In the course of 1722, Atterbury, Bishop of Rochester, was committed to the Tower for being mixed up in a treasonable correspondence with the Jacobites in France, and a Bill of Pains and Penalties against him passed the Commons.

Atterbury wrote to Wake complaining that he was deprived of the consolations to be derived from the religious ministrations to which he was accustomed.[1]

"Tower, *Sunday, January* 13, 1723.

"My Lord,—In a little time after I was here confin'd I apply'd for leave to go to the Tower Chappel, but was deny'd it. I then desir'd yt ye Minister of ye place might be allowd to give me ye Sacrament in

[1] Wake MSS, 1732.

private. The Commanding Officer here comply'd with my Request, . . . but receiv'd a letter from ye Lieutenant just as Mr. Hawkins was coming in to give me ye Sacrt forbidding him to let me have it either in public or private, and for this reason, Because I was not so near death as to have any immediate need of it. I am not sure of ye very words, but of ye sense I am." He goes on to say that he has "since recd the Sacrament privately, but has been refused leave to attend Church. . . . I do therefore," he goes on, "apply myself to your Grace desiring that you wd please to interpose in this matter; and procure for me ye indulgences I ask."

Wake preserved a much corrected draft of his answer:

"I have the favour of your Lordship's letter and will take the first opportunity to communicate the contents of it to one of the Secretaries of State and be yr advocate to the best of my skill to obtain wt you desire. . . . Your Lordship may be assured I will not be wanting in my sincere endeavours to procure the liberty you desire and wch, unlesse by the folly of other people, can, I think, give no offence to the Government.

"I am very glad to hear yr Lordship is able to venture abroad this cold weather and heartily pray God to establish yr Health, and with all true respect remain,—My Lord, yr Lordship's very affectionate Brother and Servt."

The same day the Prime Minister, Townshend, writes, making an appointment with the archbishop, on which in Wake's hand is endosed the following:

"Memd,—On Wednesday I waited on my Lord Townshend and met Lord Carteret there; I did wt I could for the Bp. of Roch. but was told this affair had before been settled by his Maty. He was not allow'd to go to the Chappell; but was allow'd to have prayers in his lodgings as often as he pleased; and a congregation to joyn with Him there on Sundays by the Lt.'s order."

Wake does not seem to have taken part in the trial

of Atterbury in the House of Lords. He gets a full report of what passed from one of his suffragans.

Bishop of Coventry to Wake :

"*May* 1723.

"Thursday and Friday were spent on ye Bp's evidence. The letters in cypher were delivered to him at his request, but after examining he alledged ye time was too short, viz. 2 days, for his decyphers wt sense they were to be taken in. The seal cutter Rawlinson produc'd by Council for ye Bill was tryed for his skill by others of ye same trade for ye Bp, and upon several tryals by impressions of ye same and of different seals made but one mistake. The Bp's Council sum'd up ye evidence this morning, and then ye Bp made a very moving speech 2 hours long baring 5 minutes. He insisted much on his real and his legal innocency ; exposed his sufferings, infirmities, age, &c. ; acquitted himself of ambition, covetousness, and inclination to meddle in business foreign to his function ; profest his zeal for ye Protestant religion from first setting out into ye world, and declares he was perhaps ye only Divine of ye Church of Engl. that ever vindicated Mr. Luther ye first reformer ; used ye words of father Paul ye Venetian to go into voluntary banishment for ye quiet of ye state ; and concluded with a solemn appeal to God upon ye faith of a Christian yt he never dictated nor was privy to any letter writ by Kelly, yt he never writ nor was writ to by Ormond or Mar, yt he never consulted or heard of any rising intended at either of ye 3 times mentioned in ye Bill ; his last words were that as he came naked into ye world he was content to be sent naked into a strange country, yet had learnt this lesson to say always, 'Blessed be ye Name of ye Lord.' A proposal that Kelly shd be examined upon oath touching ye Bp's dictating those 3 letters, was carried by 80 to 40."

A serious point in the bishop's trial before the Lords was whether certain letters put in by his accusers were legal evidence against him and were sufficiently proved : Cowper thought not. The bishops were divided. Willis, then of Salisbury, afterwards of Winchester, was on the side of Ministers and made a laboured speech

against his brother of Rochester. In the end the Bill passed by 83 to 43. Atterbury was deprived of his office and emoluments and rendered incapable of holding office. He left England in 1723, a crowd "not more than was expected," so writes Walpole to Townshend, "attending him before his embarkation, and great numbers of boats attending him to the ship's side." He died in Paris in 1731, after eight years' exile spent in furthering the designs of the Pretender.

Wake gave valuable assistance to a proposal for translating the New Testament into Arabic. The proposal was supported by Humphry Prideaux, Dean of Norwich, and by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. Wake subscribed to the fund for carrying out the proposal, and his friend, Lord Cowper, gave twenty guineas to it. The Crown was applied to for a grant. Lord Stanhope asked whether the archbishop approved of the undertaking. The reply was that he not only approved of it but was the principal promoter of it. On the 22nd June 1726, Royal Letters Patent were issued, granting £500 "without account as 'the Royal' Encouragement to the work performed or now performing under the care of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge of printing the New Testament in Arabick."

There was hardly a quarter of the globe in respect of which Wake's assistance was not given towards education, and particularly towards the establishment of missions. He preserved among his MSS. numerous papers relating to the Danish Missionaries at Tranquebar, in South India, which supply the clearest evidence of his being a good friend to them and their work.

Wake had probably kindly feelings towards, though he was not much brought into contact with, the Nonjurors. We must remember that the Nonjurors had from the first much dissension among themselves. There was from the first a straitest sect of the Nonjurors represented by Hickes, the deprived Dean of Worcester,

and Bishop Turner of Ely, and a militant section they were too, who would have nothing to do with a Church or with Churchmen who not only took oaths of allegiance to usurpers, but acquiesced in filling the sees of bishops who had been deprived for not taking such oaths. The milder section, such as Ken, who in 1700 and 1710 advocated a return to the Church, and Frampton, who attended the services of his parish church, disapproved of these things, but throughout maintained the position that they were not worth creating a formal schism over ; and when the last of the deprived bishops was dead, the milder section was reinforced by men like Robert Nelson and Henry Dodwell. The differences between the stalwarts and the milder section of Nonjurors dealt not only with outward ecclesiastical forms, but extended to questions of Doctrine.

Ken was not in favour of keeping up a succession of nonjuring bishops ; it looked, at any rate, too much like a schism. But in 1694, Lloyd, White of Peterboro, and Turner of Ely, three of the seven Nonjurors, consecrated Hickes and Wagstaffe bishops. Wagstaffe died before 1713, and by then Lloyd, White, and Turner were all dead; so Hickes, stalwart of the stalwarts, got two of the bishops of the Scottish Episcopal Church, Campbell and Gadderar, to join with him in consecrating Collier, Naw, and Spinkes to be bishops in the nonjuring Church. Hickes died a year or two afterwards. His mantle seems to have fallen on Collier, a man of learning, and he with Spinkes and Hawes consecrated as Bishops Gandy and Brett. Brett was deeply read in liturgical and ecclesiastical subjects. He had taken the oaths to William and Mary, but on the death of Anne felt no allegiance to the Georges.

Shortly after this the dissension on doctrinal matters became acute among the society. In 1718, Collier and Brett reprinted the Communion Office of Edward the Sixth's first Prayer Book, and published a tract advocating its use. In four points the tract put it forward

as more primitive than the English Prayer Book—the mixing of water with the wine, the prayer for the Dead, the prayer for the Descent of the Holy Ghost on the elements, and the Oblatory Prayer. A Nonjuror, said to have been Spinkes, who with Gandy, Taylor, and Bedford were on the other side, published a reply deprecating any change as likely to cause division, and not being justified by the known facts. The mixing of water with the wine, said they, is first mentioned in Justin Martyr, one hundred and fifty years after Christ's Resurrection. Intercessory prayer being so enjoined in Scripture, its silence on prayer for the Dead is against the practice. The prayer for the Descent of the Holy Ghost cannot be traced higher than the middle of the third century. With regard to the Oblatory Prayer, the author, holding the doctrine of the Eucharistic Sacrifice, nevertheless holds it not to be necessary. It is perhaps not surprising to hear that many of those who had been of the extreme nonjuring section, about now became Romanists. Collier's party, from holding to the usages of Edward the Sixth's first Book, became known as the Usagers.

As far back as October 1717, Gibson reports to Wake :

" I am inform'd from a good hand of ye following particulars which it seems proper that yr Grace shd be acquainted with : ' That in two of the Jacobite Conventicles in Town they have restor'd ye first common prayer book of Edward VI. in ye 4 places according to Mr. Collier's proposal in ye late Pamphlet : That a young man of his, my Friend's acquaintance, told him that himself and three other young men had for some time join'd the Jacobite Conventicles, but that the three others were actually gone over to the Papists and had press'd him earnestly to go over with them : That one of the Priests declar'd lately that of a very great number of Penitents which he had, one-fourth were such as had come over from the Jacobite Protestants to the Church of Rome."

A little later the archbishop gets from his constant correspondent, Sir Henry Wotton :

" I question not but your Grace has seen their new

Communion Office which was drawn up by Mr. Collier. The handle they have thereby given to their enemies is exceeding great. To deny ye Sacrament to those who will not go into their measures: to erect a new Church among themselves: To frame 3 new offices of ye Eucharist, of Confirmation, of Visitation and Communion of ye Sick . . . is to me an amazing thing. Mr. Collier treats Mr. Spinks very coarsly and the controversy is very warm on both sides. *Divide et impera,* say I. Mr. Sp. has the right side of this question."

It is necessary to note how far Wake was involved in the negotiations which at first the Nonjurors generally, and later the Collier section of them, opened, having for their object union with the Eastern Church. For our purpose it is sufficient to summarise shortly the course of these negotiations. Arsenius, Archbishop of Theba, being in London in 1716, Brett drew up a proposal for union, or at least a concordat betwixt the Orthodox, and Catholic remnant of the British Churches, and the Catholic and Apostolic Oriental Church. Of the four Eastern patriarchs who represented the latter Church in the matter Jerusalem was to be acknowledged head, Constantinople and Rome being placed on an equal footing. The Czar, to whom the document or its purport had been carried by Arsenius, was favourable to the proposal and recommended it to the Patriarchs. Brett's proposal after providing for the acknowledgment of the Catholic remnant of the British Churches as part of the Catholic Church in communion with the Apostles, with the holy fathers of the Councils of Nice and Constantinople, and with their successors, went on: The said Catholic remnant shall "oblige themselves to revive" what they long professed to wish for—the ancient godly discipline of the Church—and which they have already actually begun to restore. That, in order to a still nearer union, be as near a conformity in worship established as is consistent with the different circumstances and customs of nations.

In their answer, dated 21st August 1721, the Eastern

patriarchs did not much like any preference being given to the Patriarchate of Jerusalem, they prefer the liturgy of St. James to the English Liturgy, adhere to Transubstantiation and Images. The Nonjurors replied they would have the first six general Councils next to but not equal to the Holy Scripture. The seventh Council of Nice, with invocation of angels and departed saints and transubstantiation, they would not accept. They still hope for a union liberty being accorded on points of disagreement, the first four centuries, and not the eighth, being taken as authoritative.

In 1722 the Czar wanted two of the Nonjurors to come and confer at Moscow. But the Nonjurors were poor, and the journey expensive. The friendly Czar died: and so the matter dropped. Moreover, the Jerusalem Patriarch somewhat indiscreetly sent copies of Brett's proposal to Archbishop Wake. He did not wish to expose the papers or to subject the Nonjurors to ridicule and misrepresentation. So he adopted a policy of masterly inactivity and did nothing.

Wake showed the same care in his visitations as archbishop as he had shown in his episcopal visitations. He framed in his own hand careful and detailed dates of the matters to be dealt with, which begin with these words: "It having pleased God to give me this 2nd (probably the last I shall ever have) opportunity of visiting my diocese, I think it my duty to endeavour to make the best use of it I can."

Wake seems to have taken no very prominent part in the unhappy impeachment and conviction of Lord Chancellor Parker, Earl of Macclesfield, in 1725. So far as he intervened it seems to have been as one whose desire to do justice was certainly tempered by kindliness and mercy. A letter from the Chancellor's wife to the archbishop looks like this. In it she says:

"31*st May* 1725.

"Lord Macclesfield has been inform'd by very good hands that something has been design'd against

him this day in both Houses of Parliament; what the particular design is he does not know; perhaps it may be a design immediately to vest his estate in Trustees till the Fine is paid. If this should be the Design I need not represent to your Grace the hardship of such a proceeding, first to lay a man in prison till the Fine is paid, and then, without giving him the least time to raise the money, to seize his estate which will not be sufficient to discharge the Fine and yet will put him entirely out of a capacity to raise the money so that he must be a Prisoner for life not to mention the detriment it might be to me and my Family; if an estate and a seat which was settled upon me upon my marriage shd be committed to the care of Trustees. . . . As, therefore, your Grace has, my Lord, the great honour to plead in his Favour, we hope you will be pleas'd to come to the House of Lords to-day, and oppose anything being laid on him more severe than what he already suffers."[1]

It is foreign to our purpose to discuss how far Macclesfield deserved what he got — Lord Mahon thinks he was a scapegoat for an iniquitous system[2]; Lord Campbell thinks his punishment just[3]; bribes or semi-bribes were not so studiously shunned then as by English people now. Down to Lord Cowper's time the Lord Chancellor used to get New Year's gifts amounting to £2000 or £3000 from the Bar practising before him and the officers of his court. There was undoubtedly great slackness in the practice of the Masters in Chancery. Good judge as he had been, poor Macclesfield never came back.

George I. was very fond of what were called masquerades. These were in fact masked balls. They were frequented by rather loose sections of society, and were thought by the stricter folk to encourage immorality. The bishops were stirred to take some step against this royal proclivity. Waddington, who had just been promoted to the Bishopric of Chichester, on

[1] Wake MSS, 1725.
[2] *History*, ii. 106.
[3] *Lives of the Chancellors*, iv. 536.

5th December 1724, writes to Wake about a gathering of prelates, where, says he, "every one of them exprest a very hearty joy and satisfaction in yr Grace's readiness to appear at the head of ye suffragan Bps in so good a cause. London went so far, but wd not draw up repn of case as a foundatn to debate upon when there shd be a genl meetg, but wd attend genl meeting to consider what was to be done."

Wake's own note is:

"This meeting was held accordingly: almost all the Bps appeared and agreed to desire myselfe with the Bps of London and Winchester to desire my Lord Townshend in our names to request his Majtie to forbid the Masquerades intended to be held the beginning of ye year. Lord Townshend desired our memorial in writing. We drew it up in the following form."

The address states that the masquerades having given offence to serious and pious people, some of the bishops thought that the archbishop should convene a meeting of his suffragans to consider what should be done. Accordingly sixteen bishops, "all promoted by His Majtie and every one zealously affected to his person and Government," met, but with the strictest secrecy, at the House of Lords. It goes on to excuse his Majesty for not realising "what offence" these assemblies "gave to good people in this countrie where they had not been allow'd of in any former reigne nor were at all suitable to the Temper or Genius of this nation."

"We are far from supposing that all who go to these assemblies have any wicked designs in it. We are rather persuaded that many who allow themselves this Libertie do it out of curiosity to see what is done there; or as thinking it to be an innocent diversion or amusement, but fear at the same time that many who have gone innocently thither have very much lost ground in vertue there, and by seeing and hearing what they cannot but see and hear in such places and in such company may have had their passions raised, those desires stirr'd up in them as without the par-

ticular grace of God and a present consideration and care of themselves may be carried on to the utter ruine of their Innocence. . . .

" 'Tis neither humour nor precisenesse nor a desire to find fault with what is done or allow'd by the Court nor any other the like motive that influences us in this affair. . . .

" By suppressing these assemblies His Majtie will do wht is not only pleasing to God but most agreeable to the best and most serious part of his people."

Wake wrote the address himself—there are a very few corrections in, I think, Gibson's hand.

Its effect is best told in Wake's own endorsement on his draft of it :

" This Letter or Memorial being delivered by us to my Lord Townshend, he promis'd to do his best with the King to satisfie our desires. But what was done by His Lordship I cannot tell : it appeared that no regard was had to our advice and request."

Lord Mahon says that it was not until the earthquake at Lisbon in 1755 threw London into a panic, that the masquerades were given up.

Wake was constant in his efforts to keep up a strict standard in high ecclesiastical circles. We find the Prime Minister writing to him on the 6th May 1724 :

" I have acquainted the King with the conversation I had with your Grace the other day. . . . I have the satisfaction of sending your Grace by his Majty's command a copy of an order concerning the Disposal of the Livings in the gift of the Crown. The King is extremely pleased to find your Grace's thoughts concur so entirely with his own."

The order is to be entered in the offices of the principal Secretaries of State and copies sent to the bishops. On the fly-leaf is Wake's draft of his answer. It will be seen he brings up the residence of Cathedral Dignitaries :

" Everybody that wishes well to the Ch. of England must be very much pleased with His Majtie's order. . . .

I take the Liberty to enclose the paper wch my Lord of London and I mentioned to your Lordship relating to the residence of Dignitaries in their Cathedral and Collegiate Chs. We are persuaded with such an order and Declaration from His Majtie as is there proposed would give great satisfaction to the Clergy in generall and in particular to the members of those Bodies who keep their residence as they ought to do."

One of the painful complications with which Wake as archbishop was brought into contact was the dispute between Thomas Wilson, the saintly Bishop of Sodor and Man, and Lord Derby, the lord of the Isle of Man. The bishop for an absurdly small stipend did much good work in the island, assisting its material development by cutting down forests and planting trees, as well as ministering to the religious necessities of the islanders. He claimed indeed and exercised the right to administer spiritual penalties in a mediæval or pre-mediæval way. For excommunicating and imprisoning an alleged adulteress he was fined £10 by the civil authority, and though this fine was remitted he was afterwards fined again and kept in prison in default of payment. He appealed in 1722 to the Privy Council. As bishop he was subject to the Archbishop of York as his metropolitan, and many and urgent were the appeals the northern archbishop Dawes made to his brother at Canterbury for help to Bishop Wilson.

The dispute ran on for a long time : it was partly patched up in 1719, and Wilson wrote to Wake in November of that year: " On my return I shall discharge my duty without failing in the respect which I know to be due to the civil magistrate."

The archbishop writes in July 1722 as to the bishop's appeal to the Privy Council :

" I have this day sent up to my Lord President a Petn to the King in Council from the Bishop of Man and his Vicars-General for relief from an unjust imprisonment which they now lie under from the Government of the Island. . . . I earnestly intreat your Grace

to forward and support the good Bishop's Petition with all yr might ; who I really think, as well as his Church, is in a proper state of persecution."

And a fortnight later he writes again :

" I most humbly thank your Grace for attending the Council in the good Bishop of Man's case : and am abundantly satisfied that through your and my Lord President's kind endeavours everything is done which as yet can be legally done for his relief."

A year later on the 18th May 1723 there is another urgent letter from ' W. Ebor ' to Wake :

" Understanding by the Bishop of Man that his Cause is appointed to be heard before the Council on the 22nd—I cannot forbear giving your Grace the trouble of this earnestly to desire you to attend and to use your utmost endeavours to procure that good Bishop Justice and Peace and the Free exercise of his Ecclesiastical authority over his Diocese."

He goes on to urge that several orders lately given by the " Governe and subgoverne must be taken off ye Records " or " branded with such a mark of Illegality as may sufficiently testifie His Majestie's and his Council's disapprobation of and Displeasure against " them. Provision too, he says, must be made to have appeals to His Majesty and " not send parties aggriev'd " to the Government for redress against his own officers.

It is not till 1724 that there comes a note from the Bishop of Sodor and Man of the actual trial :

" I had not an opportunity after the Council was ended of giving your Grace my most humble thanks for Presence there yesterday ; and take the Liberty of doing it this way, and of most earnestly praying your Grace will be pleas'd if it be consistent with your Grace's health and affairs to be at the Council tomorrow when my adversarys will be sure to bring their utmost power to hinder the execution of wt the Committee may think due to my sufferings."

Wake's interest in Foreign Missions is attested by his careful preservation among his MSS of papers of every kind relating to the establishment of the Church and the advancement of religion in different parts of the world. His own views would incline him to interest in Foreign Missions, and his duty as well as his inclination made him specially attentive to the needs of America and her Colonies. From his friend and predecessor, Tenison, came a legacy to care for the Church's children in "the Plantations" if not for the heathen. One of Tenison's last acts as Primate had been to put forth a letter, dated the 18th May 1714, to the Clergy of his Peculiars in and about London, accompanied by a royal letter craving aid for the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. On the 17th April 1718, George I. issued a royal letter which recited the society's need of funds, especially the engagement the society had entered into of maintaining a missionary schoolmaster and interpreter among the Indians bordering upon New York (which engagement alone and the incidental charges would amount to near half of the society's annual subscriptions), and provided that publication be made thereof on the third Sunday in Advent to be followed by a collection in the subsequent week. The royal letter was accompanied by a letter from the archbishop, of which his own draft is extant at Christ Church, dated the 20th November 1718, from Lambeth.

In 1721 South Carolina sent two representatives to England with letters to the archbishop, in which they state that though they have "many more difficultys to struggle with" than any of the neighbouring Colonys, yet . . . they are "building a church superior to any yet built in America." They solicit from His Majesty "a Sett of Plate and an altarpiece for the same," and beg Wake to help them to "obtain that Donation."

On 17th January 1723–4, Wake gets an appeal from

Johnson, the only clergyman of the Established Church in the whole Colony of Connecticut. It says :

" There are a considerable number, 5 or 6 I am sure, very promising young gentlemen who — being very fitted 'for want of episcopal ordination' — decline the Ministry . . . being, partly from themselves and partly through the Influence of their Friends, loth to expose themselves to the Danger of the Seas and Distempers from Mr. Browne's case has been very terrifying. So that the fountain of our misery is the want of a Bishop for whom there are many thousands of souls in this country do long and pray.

" Stratford in New England,
Jan. 17, 1723–4."

But America had no monopoly of the archiepiscopal solicitude. At Tranquebar in India were established a band of Royal Danish Evangelical Missionaries. In the winter of 1718 comes a long Latin letter from them to Wake, detailing their difficulties—from illness, lack of means, want of buildings, etc. Even for them, Wake gets a royal letter of sympathy, and to arouse the sympathy of Churchmen at home ; and is, of course, not wanting in help as well as sympathy from himself.

Wake's aid to religious communities all over the world went far beyond what he could officially be expected to do. He corresponded with the celebrated Jablowsky ; with the King of Prussia and his advisors, the project of a union among the Reformed Churches had careful consideration. A striking monument to his indefatigable industry, as well as to his excellent linguistic attainments, is the folio volume among the Wake MSS containing his letters from foreign correspondents—about half in French and half in Latin, each letter followed by the draft of the answer sent to it in Wake's own handwriting. No draft could show signs of having been the subject of more careful revision than these draft replies, always in the language of the letter which they answered.

For the last five or six years of his life, Wake was prevented by the infirmities of age and bad health from attending to business. The Wake MSS at Christchurch—so stupendous a monument to his industry and ability—stop in 1728 or 1729: one of the latest in date is:

"The Forme and maner of makyng and consecratyng of ArcheBishoppes, Bishoppes, Priestes, and Deacons, A.D. 1549," in the handwriting of Archbishop Wake.

At the end:

"This book was transcribed by me with my own hand from the printed copy of it in Lambeth Library in 4to; being the only copy I ever saw of it. The pages exactly answer one another, and I have generally followed the very spelling of the print. So that it is in all respects an exact copy of it.

"W. CANT."

"*May* 10*th*, 1727, LAMBETH HOUSE."

His most carefully recorded entries stop about this time or but little later.

The archbishop's copy of the Ordination Service has at the beginning a list of all persons ordained by him from 23rd December 1705 to 25th September 1726, and a list of all bishops consecrated from 16th January 1715 (? 1716), when he became archbishop, to A.D. 1728. At the end of the book is a list of persons preferred by the archbishop from 1705 to 1728—all in the archbishop's handwriting.

Wake died at Lambeth on the 24th January 1737. He was buried "in a private manner" at Croydon.

His wife died before him in 1730.

Wake is said to have spent nearly £11,000 in repairs to the palaces at Lambeth and Croydon. A dozen years or more before his death, the Bishop of Worcester writes to him:

"I perceive you have been at vast expense in yr 2 Houses; 'tis extremely visible at Lambeth, and Dr.

Byrche tells me (if possible) more so at Croydon, and your Grace builds strong and they will stand to do Honour to your memory in after ages."

A new vicarage house at Croydon is said to have cost him £700. He is said to have been liberal in his hospitalities at Lambeth and Croydon; "constant charities were reached out to the unfortunate and distressed, a great number of the poor inhabitants were clothed and fed, and liberal alms conveyed to the necessitous and modest poor."

Wake left no son. His six daughters were all married, the five eldest to laymen in the position of country squires, and the youngest to Dr. John Lynch, Dean of Canterbury.

By his will he left his books and MSS with a curious collection of coins, the whole valued at £10,000, to his old college, Christ Church, Oxford. His sermons and charges were published in three volumes.

JOHN POTTER

1737–1747

John Potter was born at Wakefield, in Yorkshire, about the year 1674. He would thus be a boy of fourteen at the time of the flight of James II. and the Revolution. He was the son of Mr. Thomas Potter, a linen draper of Wakefield. He is therefore another instance—occurring in an epoch unpropitious for the development of humble talent—of the fact that in all ages in England men have been able to rise from low social level to wealth and the highest offices in the State. He was educated at Wakefield School—an institution whose alumni include also the great scholars Bentley, Bingham, and Dr. Radcliffe, founder of the Radcliffe Library at Oxford. Potter early showed himself both industrious and clever. His progress in his studies, especially in Greek, was remarkable. Indeed there is more than legend that he was abnormally precocious. In 1842 a Northamptonshire yeoman churchwarden of his parish went to his rector and said that there had descended to an ancestor of his a picture, which family tradition said was the likeness of a very clever little boy, the son of a linen draper at Wakefield, in Yorkshire, who could read the Greek Testament at 6, and had read it up to the place marked in the book he holds in his hand, and who afterwards became Archbishop of Canterbury. In the picture the boy had his hand on a book, and a scroll records, *ætatis suæ* vi, *anno* 1679. The picture was presented to Archbishop Howley and brought by him to Lambeth. The boy's face is described as being full of intelligence. Unwonted precocity was always

ascribed to Potter, and as the other points in the tradition agree with Potter, it was preserved at Lambeth as representing the archbishop when a boy. The universities as late as the seventeenth century received their students young; and, when he was only fourteen, the young Yorkshireman found his way to Oxford. University College had then the good fortune—which it has so often since enjoyed—of having for its master Dr. Arthur Chaslett, an able scholar, and one who patronised learning and scholarship, especially when displayed in the youthful members of his College. We have already come across him as a friend of Wake, who urged on him the acceptance of the see of Lincoln.

In 1688, Potter entered as a Batteler at University College, and in 1693 he took his B.A. degree. By this time the master had formed a high opinion of his scholarship and of his general promise, and in the following year the youthful editor, he being only nineteen, published at the University Press, by the advice and at the expense of the master of his college, an edition with various readings and notes of Plutarch's treatise on the study of poetry, *De audiendis Poetis*, and of the oration of Basil the Great on Greek studies, *De Legendis Græcorum Libris*. So highly thought the Master of University of young Potter's production that he presented copies of it as New-Year gifts to the young students of his house. In the year following, 1695, he was chosen Fellow of Lincoln, and took his M.A. degree on 16th October in the same year. He employed himself in taking pupils, and shortly after took holy orders. Greek had always been the future archbishop's strong point and his favourite study, and, aiming at the highest, he had, even before publishing his edition of Plutarch and Basil, begun an edition of Lycophron, the most obscure of all the Greek authors, as he is quaintly called, "the tenebrous poet"; but difficulties occurred, and the completion of this difficult work had to be put off. In 1697 a very beautiful folio edition of Lycophron

was put forth by Potter at the University Press. At this time one of the first, if not the first, of European classical scholars was Grœvius, the Professor of Eloquence and History in the University of Utrecht. He had published several editions of Greek and Roman authors with notes and prefaces, and the young Fellow of Lincoln, who had had the privilege of corresponding with the great scholar, five years later, in 1702, republished Lycophron with a Dedication to Grœvius. We are told that he had intended Nicander's *Theriaca and Alexipharmaca*, with the Greek Scholia on both poems and his own annotations, to accompany Lycophron; but Potter was already a busy man, and his numerous avocations prevented his accomplishing this plan. Lycophron's poem presented great opportunities for a laborious and learned scholar. It consists of a long course of predictions supposed to be uttered by Cassandra, daughter of Priam, King of Troy, standing on a mountain near the city, just as the ships of Paris are about to set sail for Sparta. We are told that Potter "illustrated the prophetic forebodings, mythological obscurities, and historical allusions"; there had been an edition of Tzetzes, the Greek Scholiast, in 1542, and a translation of Scaliger in 1584, and from these Potter gave copious extracts. Lycophron, from his obscurity, seems to have had attractions for young scholars. Canter published a commentary in 1566 at the age of twenty-four; Meursuis at Leyden in 1597 when only eighteen; Potter, who was twenty-two when his work came out, quoted freely from these predecessors of his, besides adding his own annotations.

Before 1702, however, Potter had given to the world the results of his labours in a wider classical field. In 1697 he published the first volume of his *Archæologia Græca*, or *The Antiquities of Greece*, and in the year following the second volume. This is a very learned and elaborate work on the customs, laws, and religion of ancient Greece. A Latin translation was almost at

once undertaken at Leyden, and in 1702 was published under Potter's own inspection with elaborate illustrations and every typographical advantage known to the day. The work was dedicated to Harley, then Speaker to the House of Commons—afterwards with Bolingbroke, leader of the Tory party—promoter of the Acts to punish occasional conformity, and founder of the Harleian Library, and finally Earl of Oxford. The language of the address is, after the style of dedicators to our notions, fulsome—attributing to Harley the highest place, not only among Greek and Latin, but among Hebrew, scholars, and says no one could equal him in theology, criticism, or classical knowledge! The work remained a standard work for many generations and went through several editions. It undoubtedly established Potter's position as in the front rank of classical scholars, and involved him in correspondence with learned scholars abroad.

We are now to find Potter moving forward in his own calling of a divine. He took his B.D. in July 1704. He had attracted the notice of Archbishop Tenison. In 1704, Tenison appointed Potter one of his chaplains, and he thereupon moved from Oxford to reside with the archbishop at Lambeth. Later on the families of the archbishop and his chaplain became associated by marriage,—Potter's eldest daughter marrying Tenison's great-nephew; but the lady died in giving birth to her first child in 1730.

Potter became D.D. in April 1706, and soon after was appointed Chaplain-in-Ordinary to Queen Anne.

There is no record of Potter taking any part in the momentous discussions over the Union of England and Scotland, which was accomplished the year after his appointment as Royal Chaplain. Living in the Primate's palace at Lambeth, he could not fail to follow them with interest, his chief having been one of the English Commissioners appointed to discuss with the

Scottish Commissioners[1] the terms of the Treaty, and bringing into the Lords a provision for the security of the Church of England to be inserted as a fundamental part of that Treaty.

Potter now turned his studies in an ecclesiastical and theological direction. He had from boyhood been a student, and a very diligent student. We cannot doubt that in the years since his ordination, if not before, he had studied deeply the Fathers and early divines. In 1707 he published in 8vo his *Discourse on Church Government*. The work is a learned one, which remained for a century or more a standard work among English theologians. Potter in it takes up and defends the Church position and the institution of the three orders of bishops, priests, and deacons as of Divine origin. He explains away St. Jerome's theory of the original equality of the three orders as presbyters, and the subsequent promotion, in the interests of Church order and discipline, of one presbyter to authority over the others with the name of bishop. Jerome had based his theory on the indiscriminate use of bishop and presbyter in the New Testament. Potter remarks that this had been noticed by Chrysostom, Theodore, and other ancient Fathers, without any such inference being drawn from it, a disparity of order being on the contrary affirmed. He reasons that Jerome having put presbyters on a level with the apostles, it is not strange he should equal them with bishops. He also relies on the absence of any account of any presbyter taking ill the promotion of one of his brethren to supremacy, and attributes Jerome's theory to a jealousy on his part of the order of deacons, some of whom claimed privileges superior to those of the presbyters, and to Jerome having as a presbyter magnified his order to equality with the bishops that he might the better raise it "beyond the competition of the deacons." His view of the Fathers, especially of the first three

[1] Smollett's *History*, ii. 107.

centuries, is that they are "the best interpreters of the Scriptures." He quaintly says: "If any of them be thought to speak sometimes with less caution or to carry their expression higher than might have been wished, as the best men in the heat of disputation or through too much zeal often do, all candid and impartial readers will easily be persuaded to make a just allowance for it."

In 1708, Potter was appointed to succeed Dr. Jane as Regius Professor of Divinity and Canon of Christ Church, which brought him back to the University. Jane had been a strong High Churchman and Tory. Twenty years before, when William III. was trying to carry through a scheme for comprehension, and had appointed a Royal Commission to prepare matters for the consideration of Convocation with a view to revise the Liturgy and make Canons, there had been keen opposition between the Upper and Lower Houses of Convocation over the royal proposals, and there had also been a battle royal in 1689 over the election of a Prolocutor, when Jane had been the champion of the party of conservatism against Tillotson. Jane had had as his assistant in the Professorship Dr. Smalridge, a man like-minded with himself, who had discharged his duties as deputy well. The Queen herself was much perplexed who should have the Professorship, and among those nearest to the throne there was the strongest divergence of opinion on the point. Two parties were just now, in fact, struggling for the first place in Anne's affections. The Tory, Harley, was a rival to Godolphin and Marlborough, and Abigail Hill, afterwards Mrs. Masham, Harley's cousin, a soothing, placid character, was supplanting the long omnipotent Duchess Sarah. "It was on Church matters" (*Reign of Queen Anne*, 315), says Lord Stanhope, "above all that Godolphin and the Marlboroughs, Duke and Duchess, mistrusted the insinuations of Harley." "Her Majesty," he says later, "re-

garded some of her Ministers as latitudinarian and rather inclined to the Tories, whom, according to the Duchess of Marlborough herself, she usually called by the agreeable name of the Church party."

Marlborough pressed that Potter should be made Regius Professor, and for some weeks the matter was in suspense. Potter was a Whig and a supporter of William III. and the Protestant succession. How, said or thought Anne, was this consistent with the sound Church views he was said to possess? Lord Stanhope says that she would greatly have preferred Smalridge. But she quailed before what Lord Stanhope sarcastically calls Marlborough's "portentous threat": "If Dr. Potter has not the Professor's place, I will never more meddle with anything that may concern Oxford."

At nearly the same time Anne, without consulting any of her Ministers, bestowed the sees of Chester and Exeter on Sir William Dawes and Dr. Blackhall, who, though men of unblemished characters, were Tories,—Divine-right men, and as such had openly condemned the Revolution. So strong a step had to be neutralised a little, and thus Potter, and not Smalridge, got the Regius Professorship.

Godolphin and the Marlboroughs were, however, much upset at Blackhall and Dawes' promotion: Harley was at the bottom of it, they were sure, and the Queen had to clear herself. She writes to Marlborough, who was abroad: "I believe you have been told, as I have, that these two persons were recommended to me by Mr. Harley, which is so far from being true that he knew nothing of it till it was the talk of the town. I do assure you these men were my own choice. They are certainly very fit for the station I design; and, indeed, I think myself obliged to fill the Bishops' Bench with those that will be a credit to it and to the Church, and not always to take the recommendations of the Whig Government."

But the Whigs were, as Lord Stanhope says, only half appeased, and to quiet them Anne made Trimnell, a thorough Whig and a former tutor of Sunderland, Bishop of Norwich. Smalridge was Dean of Christ Church, and, it is interesting to note, was made Bishop of Bristol in 1714, holding his bishopric, which was a poor one, with his deanery. He was for many years a leader of Oxford Toryism, and so stuck to his principles that, in 1716, when George I. came back from his first visit to Hanover, he opposed an address of welcome to the King on the ground, among others, that there would be no end of addresses should one be presented every time His Majesty returned from Germany! He and Atterbury were, as we have said, the only bishops who refused to sign the Archbishops' Declaration against the Pretender and in favour of the Hanoverian Dynasty in 1715.

Shortly afterwards, Potter married, and had by his wife a numerous family, of some of whom particulars are given below. His wife is said by Wood, the Oxford antiquary, in his *Athenæ*, to have been a granddaughter of Thomas Venner, the fifth monarchy man.

1709 saw the trial of Sacheverell with its immense popular excitement, and in this and the following years the popularity of the Church was at its height in the House of Commons and in the country. 1713 saw the devotion of the coal duties to the building of fifty new churches in London and Westminster. 1714 saw the triumph of Atterbury and Bolingbroke in the passing of the Schism Act, which forbade a Nonconformist to keep a school without a licence from the bishop, and which was repealed early in George the First's reign without its provisions ever having been put into operation.[1]

In 1715 Potter completed and published in two volumes an edition of the works of St. Clement of

[1] Perry, ii. 285.

Alexandria. This, again, is a work of learning embodying the corrections of Sylburgius in 1592, and Heinsius in 1616.

Burnet, the celebrated Bishop of Salisbury, died on the 17th March 1715. There seems to have been a little dispute among the dispensers of patronage who should succeed him at Salisbury. The day following Burnet's death, the Lord Chancellor writes to Wake :

" Hearing by accident yesterday very early the death of the late Bishop of Sarum, and not knowing your Lordship's thoughts concerning that Bishoprick, I immediately did what I could to help the Bishop of Oxford to it, knowing he had lately been under some disappointment; and yesterday about one o'clock in the House of Lords I was told from a good hand that ye King had given it to the Bishop of Oxford, and the Bishoprick of Oxford to Dr. Potter. This pleased me till I had the honour of yr Lordship's, which hath made me dissatisfied yt my little endeavours were not bound ye way most agreeable to you. I yet hope for another opportunity of repairing this misfortune, being, with perfect sincerity, my Lord,

yr Lordship's most faithfull
humble servant,
COWPER C.

" I will not be sure that the E. of N.'s endeavours, wh I hear are very pressing, may not make some alteratn in this disposition."

The Bishop of Oxford here alluded to was William Talbot. He was related to Lord Shrewsbury, and this fact hastened his promotion. He had preached the sermon at George the First's Coronation, and had made a telling speech in Ministers' favour in 1707 on the Union with Scotland Bill. He was the father of Lord Chancellor Talbot. He is reviled in some quarters for his friendliness to Clarke, who, though accused of Arian views, was a man of high character, and Rundle,

a liberal theologian afterwards Bishop of Derry. We shall tell in our Life of Archbishop Secker how, through his second son, Talbot became the patron and friend of the great Butler as well as of Secker and Benson, Bishop of Gloucester, three of the best bishops of the eighteenth century.

So Talbot went to Salisbury, and Potter was raised to the Episcopate. The Marlborough interest, weakened from what it had been, was still on his side, and his Whiggism, High Churchman though he was, was beyond question.

He retained his Regius Professorship, and, we are told, filled both his important stations with great reputation, seldom failing to preside in person over the disputations in the schools, and regularly holding his triennial visitations in St. Mary's Church, where his charges were "forcible and adapted to the circumstances of the times."

For some years at this period of his life Potter suffered from a severe affection of the eyes. There were printer's errors in his edition of Clement which were excused on the ground that he had from the state of his eyes to entrust the correction of the proofs to other hands, and in his letter from Cuddesden to Wake in 1717 we shall see that he refers to his dependence on other men's eyes.

Not unnaturally Potter was a frequent preacher at Court now. He was apparently notified by the archbishop or his official that he had been put in the list of royal or Whitehall preachers, but he writes, to beg off, from Cuddesden, a letter dated 20th December 1716:

"This afternoon I receiv'd the honour of yr Grace's letter. I would not omit this first opportunity of troubling your Grace with my answer tho' I am at present sick of a fevour. My wife expects to be brought to bed some time in January, on which account I am in hopes His Majesty will be pleas'd to excuse my attendance till the middle or later end of February, and

I have some time since desir'd the Bishop of St. Asaph to take my proxy. Here in the country I have rather more company and rather less leisure than at Oxford: beside that one who hath lectures to compose for every term, to say nothing of other business, cannot be supposed to have much time to spare. But as there are, beside several of my senior Bishops, two of the juniors now in town, who never appear'd on this occasion, and having for many years been constant Preachers cannot be unprovided, I hope yr Grace will not be under the least difficulty."[1]

The next year he is more easily induced to come to his Parliamentary duties. His eyes were still bad: he writes to Wake:

"The state of my own health and that also of my family hath of late been such as would rather have inclined me to continue some time longer in the country, but the notice which your Grace was pleas'd to send by Dr. Castro, and the letter which I had the honour to receive from you by the last post, having determin'd me otherwise, I have this day sent to a friend in London to take a house for me as soon as possible. Just before the Session of Parliament began the Bp. of Norwich sent me the form of a Proxy desiring me to sign it, which accordingly was done; but if any urgent occasion should happen, I could go to London from this place in a day's time.

"CUDDESDEN, 19*th March* 1716."

Potter was on good terms with Archbishop Wake, and there are in the Wake MSS many letters from Potter to the Primate. Potter's attitude throughout the correspondence is one of respectful submission to his ecclesiastical chief. Wake was the bigger man of the two, but in their opinions on Church matters they were not widely separated from each other. Both were mild Whigs, with a Whiggism not increasing with advancing years. Both were scholars and would-be students. One letter in particular from Potter to Wake, dated the 18th September 1717, and written from

[1] Wake MSS, 1716.

Cuddesden, gives us an insight into the type of mind that Potter had, learned, scholarly, believing in a scholar's methods, fully trusting that men would be swayed by arguments rather than by emotion or feeling. We can understand how such qualities might in a man raised to the Primacy give rise to the charge made against Potter of dignified coldness and lack of sympathy. The letter runs :

" There is no man who doth more heartily concur with yr Grace in lamenting the present unhappy state of the Church than myself when so many of chief note even among the clergy do either openly oppose or even covertly undermine as well her principal Doctrines as the most essential parts of her authority : but as to the power of requiring all persons who are admitted into Holy Orders or Eccl Benefices to give proper assurances of their sincerity and orthodoxy in the Xtian Faith, this is so clear in itself and so universally practis'd in all churches both of the present and all former ages that I can scarce conceive it to be deny'd by any sensible man unless on one of these two accounts, viz. either that he thinks the church to be no true society nor to have any power over its own members ; or that he disbelieves some of the doctrines to which his assent is required. As to the former of these, I have said a good deal in my book of church government ; and tho' in the writings of the Bp of Bangor and others there may be several tacit objections to some parts of it, I have not yet seen any one of so much weight but that I should willingly leave it to the judgment of any impartial reader who would be at the pains of comparing my book with it. As to the later sort, among whom I reckon Dr. Clarke because his book against the Xtian Trinity is introduc'd with a prevaricating method of eluding his subscription, it seems to me wholly in vain to endeavour to answer them any other way than by confuting their false Doctrines ; for whatever opinion such men may have of the Church's authority to require subscriptions, they will never be easy while they look upon these Doctrines to be false to which their subscription is required. If Dr. Clarke had not first disbeliev'd the doctrine of the Trinity or some others received in the Church, it seems probable

to me that we should never have heard anything of his peculiar way of subscribing. I confess it seems to me no small disgrace to us that after the Doctrine of the Trinity (to say nothing of others) hath been so publickly attacked for several years together, tho' some replies have been made which perhaps neither Dr. Clarke, Mr. Whiston, nor any other can fully answer, yet no just treatise hath been published on that subject; and tho' I am highly sensible of my own inability, I could hardly have allowed myself to be silent on this and perhaps several other occasions if I could have hoped to complete any Treatise which would have been of the least service to the Church by the help of my own eyes, but the depending on other men's eyes is a disadvantage so great as hath discouraged me from undertakings of this nature, tho' your Grace cannot suppose me to be wholly at leisure who, besides the business of my Bishoprick and all other affairs, do constantly read Lectures and preside at all Theological Disputations while I am in the country. . . .

"I shd humbly propose to your Grace whether it may not be convenient that some person should write a short and plain discourse which should not exceed the length of an ordinary sermon to show how reasonable and necessary it is that all clergymen before their admission to any place of trust in the Church should give some proof as well of their sincerity in believing the Xtian religion and its chief doctrines as of their good life and behaviour. . . . I should rather incline to this method because the controversy concerning the Church's authority having been sufficiently treated of by several writers now many years since, there seems the less reason to renew it at this time, especially since, considering the present disposition, it ought to be manag'd with the utmost prudence and tenderness, and many will sooner be influenc'd by other arguments than those which are fetch'd from the Church's power, which they do not love to hear much of. . . .

"There are also several other subjects which, if treated on in a familiar and popular way as some of the Occasional Papers were formerly written under the direction of yr Grace's predecessor, might probably do good service at this time."

He was prepared to support the archbishop on the

repeal of the Occasional Conformity Bill, though he does not seem to have been present at the debates in the Lords. In the very midst of the parliamentary struggle over it he writes :

" The last week I was preparing to go to London after my Ordination as well in obedience to your Grace's commands as because I was willing to give my Testimony on the occasion which now, it seems, is pass'd sooner than was expected. I shall, however, be ready to follow yr Grace's direction whenever my presence shall be thought wanting; tho' my own health and inclination might lead me to remain here in the country.

" Mr. Maurice, a young Master of Arts of Jesus College, having in a Sermon before the University said several things relating to the Succession authority and Divine Commission of the Clergy, *Negative Discouragements as used amongst us*, etc., which, tho' perhaps fashionable in some places, were very displeasing to that audience, was called before the Vice-Chancellour on Wednesday last, and, upon his persisting to defend all that he had said, was forbidden to preach any more within the University till he shd acknowledge that *several expressions* in his sermon were disagreeable to the Doctrine and discipline of the Church of England and had given just cause of offence to the hearers."

Meanwhile, in 1718, Potter had held his first triennial visitation, and in his charge warned his clergy against the errors without mentioning the name of the notorious Hoadly, Bishop of Bangor. He thus became involved in the great Bangorian Controversy, of which and of its author, the Bishop of Bangor, we propose here to give some account.

Hallam, in his *Constitutional History*, says: " After turning over forty or fifty tracts and consuming a good many hours on the Bangorian Controversy, I should find some difficulty in stating with precision the proposition in dispute." In fact, every principle that has ever been at issue between High Churchmen and Broad Churchmen was at issue. Hallam's difficulty was not caused by any defect in Hoadly's literary style. He

was a clear and logical writer and a first-class controversialist. Visitors to Winchester Cathedral may know the rather heavy features depicted in Hoadly's tablet on the north-west pier of the Central Tower, but for nearly half a century no one in the Church of England was a more conspicuous figure, and the Bangorian controversy occupied a large portion of the theological and ecclesiastical field in England.

Benjamin Hoadly was born in 1676 at Westerham in Kent. His father became Master of Norwich Grammar School, where he was educated. His younger brother John rose also to very high office in the Church, ending as Archbishop of Dublin and then of Armagh. Benjamin became a Fellow of St. Katherine's Hall at Cambridge, where he was contemporary with Bishop Sherlock. He had to postpone his degree for seven terms from illness ; and the small-pox and a mismanaged strain while at Cambridge made him a partial cripple all his life, using a stick abroad and crutches at home, and always obliged to preach in a kneeling posture. But he is an instance—many may be found in history—of a man whose health improved as he got older.

He became Lecturer of St. Mildred's, Poultry, in 1701. He "preached it down" to £30 a year, as he himself observed, and thought it high time to quit it. In 1704 he was made Rector of St. Peter le Poer, London, and in 1710, Rector of Streatham, which last living he retained during his episcopates of Bangor and Hereford.

He seems to have started as a stalwart Churchman, publishing in 1703 the reasonableness of Conformity to the Church of England against Calamy's 10th Chapter of the Abridgment of the Life of Baxter. He averred of himself, " I can with a pure conscience conform," and as a parish priest he never omitted the Athanasian Creed when it was ordered to be read in Church. But he did work for the Whigs, and in 1710 the Sacheverell year, the Commons presented an address to the Queen, " to bestow some dignity of the Church

on him for his eminent services both in Church and State." Anne's answer was that she would take a proper opportunity to comply with their desires, but it was not till the Crown had passed to George I. that in 1715 he was made Bishop of Bangor. In spite of his long ailing as a younger man, he lived to be eighty-five, dying in the Bishop of Winchester's Palace at Chelsea, after a few hours' illness, in 1761. His biographer attributes his green old age to his driving every day in the open air. His picture by his first wife, a portrait painter of some reputation,—as is believed, touched up by Hogarth,—is in the National Portrait Gallery.

To complete our character of Hoadly, he could only be called a good bishop when the standard of episcopal efficiency was very low. During his six years' tenure of the see of Bangor he never set foot in his diocese. Though Bishop of Hereford for two years it is doubtful whether he ever, as bishop, visited that diocese. Of his three sons, two were incurably addicted to writing and performing plays: yet one of them, the bosom friend of Garrick, in view of his father's extensive patronage as Bishop of Winchester, took orders, and his father saw nothing wrong in presenting him within a few months to four or five livings in his diocese, and making him Chancellor of the diocese and Prebendary of the Cathedral.

It is fair, however, to say that there is a letter from him to Wake, dated the 20th November 1720, which puts him in a better light as chief over a Welsh diocese. He speaks of a clergyman as "the only person I know or can hear of in town upon whom we can depend for a good and faithful translation of the Prayers into Welsh. I have seen him to-day, and find it all in great forwardness, and likely to be done with so exact directions, that the Clergy may not be at a loss in the performing the office." He seeks Wake's directions as to the "No. to be printed."—"I have press'd the

matter," he says, "and hasten'd it as much as I possibly could."

With Wake's privity, if not by his direction, the Bishop of St. Asaph undertook Confirmations in the Diocese of Bangor. We find him writing to the Archbishop on 6th August 1720:

"I had the honour to receive yr Grace's letter with another enclosed from my Lord of Bangor, and shall very readily comply with your Grace's desire as far as conveniently I can. I am afraid I shall not be able to go this year into ye remote parts of ye Diocese of Bangor: but shall be willing to go into such places as are not very far distant ones, and if the same occasion shd require it another year, I shall be ready to go, God willing, and do ye same office in ye remoter parts of that Diocese. I write this post to my Lord of Bangor, to direct him to order his Chancellor, or some other proper person, to call upon me that we may agree upon such times and places as shall be judg'd most proper for me to confirm in this year."

The immediate occasion of Hoadly's publishing the first of his works that caused a stir, called *A Preservative against the Principles and Practices of the Nonjurors both in Church and State*, or an appeal to the Consciences and Common Sense of the Christian Laity, was the publication of some posthumous papers by Hickes, which set forth "the constitution of the Catholic Church and the nature and consequences of Schism." Hickes was a man of learning, and the leader of the militant nonjurors. All the original nonjuring bishops were dead by 1712, in which year Wagstaffe, who had been consecrated with Hickes as suffragan bishops, died. Hickes himself died in 1715. The Whig Ministers objected, as was natural, to Hickes' sentiments. Who was more fitted to answer them than the Whig clerical protagonist recently promoted to the episcopal bench? Hoadly complains that the nonjurors showed little gratitude for the thirty years' toleration they had enjoyed. "Now," says he, "they

open the scene for which they have been long preparing in a more covered and private way, . . . the establishment is now openly and directly charged with the want of all right. The nonjurors' cause is now publicly declared to be the cause of God. The Church is made a principal part of the argument. The words unity, schism, altar, excommunication, damnation, and the like, are thrown about in such a manner as to confound the understanding of honest men of low capacities."

He considers the foundation of the difference between the two parties. In the year 1688, says he, "the whole nation of Protestants, universally and equally, felt and saw themselves on the brink of destruction . . . after having warded off the present threatening ruin, nothing remained but to secure us from the return of the same evils of popery and slavery." . . . "This was done with the greatest regard to the constitution of the kingdom, and with the least deviation from the common rule. The popish branches of the royal family were set aside upon no other consideration than the safety of the whole nation. And the very first Protestant branches in the same royal family were declared heirs." He goes on to say that from the refusal to take the oaths and the deprivation of some of the bishops and clergy, arose these two main principles that our princes upon this Protestant establishment can have no right to the Crown, and hence two points of practice, the one the adhering to the popish line, the other the adhering to the communion of the deprived bishops, and the treating of our churches as no churches.

On 31st March 1717, Hoadly preached before the King, in the Chapel Royal at St. James's, his sermon on St. John xviii. 36: "My Kingdom is not of this world." It is said that Government suggested if not invited following up the *Preservative* by a public utterance on the same lines, as they wanted public opinion just then roused in favour of the repeal of the

Schism and Test Acts. In his sermon, Hoadly's position was that individual sincerity was the sole requirement of a Christian; a visible church and membership of it were unimportant if not misleading. The High Church clergy were furious, and a good many who were thoroughly loyal to the Hanoverian Succession were shocked at the bishop's attitude to the visible Church. The Lower House of Convocation appointed a Committee, consisting of Sherlock, Dean of St. Paul's, and eight other divines, to report on the *Preservative* and Sermon. They drew up a Representation, in which they stated that the tendency of the two works was conceived by them to be:

"First, to subvert all government and discipline in the Church of Christ, and to reduce His Kingdom to a state of anarchy and confusion.

"Secondly, to impugn and impeach the regal supremacy in cases ecclesiastical, and the authority of the legislature to enforce obedience in matters of religion by civil sanction."

The document was called the Representation of the Lower House. Hoadly took the point that it was the work of a Committee only, and whether it was ever adopted by the House seems doubtful. That it represented the view of a majority of the House is not doubtful, but Stanhope and his colleagues were not going to have their episcopal champion condemned even by the Lower House.

The report was ready on the 10th May, but before it was presented to the Upper House, Convocation was prorogued, Mr. Hore says, by special order of the King until the 22nd November. Hoadly was charged with, but indignantly denied, having applied for this prorogation. But Convocation never got any further licence to proceed to business, and remained in abeyance till its revival in the middle of the nineteenth century.

Outside Convocation the controversy continued

and was conducted with great bitterness, and feeling ran very high. The Court stuck by Hoadly, and he received his final promotion, viz. to Winchester in 1734. Quite early in the course of the strife Snape and Sherlock, as two of his leading opponents, were struck off the list of Royal Chaplains.

Our friend, Bishop Nicholson of Carlisle, got himself involved, and involved deeply, in a quarrel which arose out of the controversy. Snape in a published letter suggested that Hoadly before preaching his sermon showed it to a friend, to satisfy whom some qualifying words were introduced into the discourse. Hoadly denied this, and asserted that the sermon was preached without the knowledge of any living man. Pressed, Snape asserted that the Bishop of Carlisle knew the individual who had suggested the modification. On further pressure this came out to be White Kennet, Dean and then Bishop of Peterborough. This White Kennet indignantly denied; on the 1st July 1717 he solemnly declares in a letter to Wake:

"It is my duty to assure yr Grace, as I solemnly do in the presence of God, that I knew nothing of the late sermon of the Bishop of Bangor before the preaching of it: that I never read or saw the MSS notes or it, and that I never was advis'd with nor ever offer'd my advice about any matter or any one word in it. And therefore it is amazement and grief to me that the good Bishop of Carlisle should at last fancy me to be the author of such a story as is couch'd in an Advertisement dated Eton, 28th June 1717."

For a month or two clerical circles were deeply stirred over the question of the suggested amendments in the sermon. The High Churchmen and some of the Moderates sided against Hoadly and credited Nicholson's story. On the 13th July 1717, Gibson gives Wake his view:

"Some conversation there probably was between the Preacher and the Dean. The sermon afterwards

when it came out appear'd to be duly guarded ; and ye Dean might naturally think and say that the guardings were the effect of ye conversation.

" I think there are two things still wanting on ye part of the Dean : the first, to declare honestly what he meant by telling ye Bishop of Carlisle that he could point out the occasion of his mistake ; the second, what was ye conversation between ye Bishop of Bangor and him after preaching and before printing.

" By ye Bishop of Bangor's advertisement we seem to be far from ye end of this foolish squabble. The disservice it does ye whole order is soe very great that one would hope the Bishop of Bangor and ye rest shd be persuaded to let drop it and let it dye on that consideration. At present he seems to be ye warmest of all ye four Combatants."

On the 15th July 1717 he writes again :

" Methinks some of ye great men at Court shd be prevail'd with to lay their commands on ye favourite Bishop to put an end to it."

Feeling ran so high between the Bishop of Carlisle and the Dean of Peterborough that on their happening to be on the same day at Gibson's Palace at Buckden, they had to be kept apart, and one of them to be persuaded to take his dinner at the inn.

The honours given or wished to be given to Hoadly by the Court made his brother bishops, even the Whigs amongst them, a little jealous. Even the level-headed Gibson writes to Wake on 25th July 1717 :

" Can ye Ministry find noe way to content my Bro. Hoadly and his friends but by affronting the whole Bench of Bishops at once? . . . Is it possible for men that think to hazard ye loss of nine parts in ten of ye Whig clergy by an unaccountable fondness for one man?"

Nor after the lapse of four or five years did Hoadly's advancement from Bangor to Hereford in 1721 fail to rouse some resentment among his critics : the Bishop

of Peterborough writes on the 9th September 1721 to the Archbishop :

" The vacancy of Hereford, if our papers be true, will put the friends of the Bishop of Bangor upon solliciting His Majesty to doe a not popular thing."

The rest of the letter is of public interest as showing the popular feeling about that time. " The people," says the writer, " are very easy, not at all inclin'd to any new Government, not much desirous of a new Ministry, and even very indifferent about a new Parliament."

The task of confronting Hoadly must have been a congenial one to Potter. For Hoadly's attack on the political principles of the Nonjurors, Potter, as a consistent Whig and upholder of the Protestant Hanoverian Succession, may have felt sympathy ; but the principles of the sermon were opposed to the system of teaching Potter valued. At the request of his clergy his charge of 1718 was published. Hoadly found no difficulty in fitting on the cap though, as we have said, neither his name nor the title of his publications was mentioned in the charge ; and immediately published an answer in which he recriminates his brother of Oxford, against whose charges he seeks to vindicate himself. Potter, in a letter to his clergy in 1719, replied to the reply and severely reprobated Hoadly's treatment of him, particularly as Potter had reprobated principles, not individuals. So the merry fight waxed on. It was six or seven years before the fires of the Bangorian controversy had smouldered out. Meanwhile Hoadly was an invaluable ally to Ministers in the Lords. With the Commons, however, he was not popular, and, in 1717, they invited Snape of Eton, his antagonist, to preach before them. It is to be remarked that in his answer Hoadly declares that Potter gave him more concern as an adversary than any one.

Potter's attitude in the Bangorian controversy

approved itself to the orthodox and High Church clergy. In the course of the next year Archbishop Wake, while taking the waters at Bath, gets from his chaplain, the Rector of Lambeth, a report of matters of interest.

"The Lord Bishop of Oxford in his charge to his Clergy on his visitation this summer spoke very fully and excellently against the false notions of the Bp. of Bangor and Dr. Clarke. No discourse was ever heard on such an occasion with more general satisfaction and applause in all parts of his Diocese. His Lordship was earnestly desir'd to print it: but he hath hitherto modestly excusd himself from complying with this Request."

In September 1719 the Deanery of Christ Church fell vacant by the death, after a short illness, of that stout old Tory, Smalridge, who held the Bishopric of Bristol, worth then only £700 a year, with his deanery. Potter writes on the 29th September announcing the dean's death to the archbishop. The Christ Church men did not want an outsider to be made dean; Fell had been both dean and bishop together, and very soon the suggestion was made that Potter, remaining Bishop of Oxford, should be made Dean of Christ Church. Wake thought highly of Potter, and wrote from Bristol, where he was taking the waters, in support of the proposal. Atterbury, who was a Christ Church man, and had been dean before Smalridge, wrote expressing the opinion that Potter was the best man. Potter himself seems to have favoured the proposal but mildly; on the 2nd October 1719 he wrote to Wake, giving him, as he says, "my own thoughts about it." "On Sunday," he goes on, "the following letter was brought to me by Mr. Brooks, the Chapter Clerk of Christ Church:

"'May it please yr Lordship.

"'Since it hath pleas'd God to take away the Bishop of Bristol our Dean of Christ Church, we make it our

humble request for the good of ye House, yr Lordship will be pleas'd to use yr utmost interest to succeed him in that Deanery.' "

This was signed by the sub-dean, the treasurer, and two of the canons. They were all the canons then in the college, but were prepared to answer "for the sense of those which were absent."

Potter expressed his own idea that his health was so uncertain that he doubted his sufficiency for the task of maintaining discipline. The Chapter asked him, should he decline the deanery, to support Egerton—a canon and one of the signatories of the letter—as a candidate for the post. From his letter Potter seems to have been pressed by the Ministry to accept the deanery. He says: "There are three considerations which might move me in it. These are the profit, the convenience in other respects, and the good which may be done in it." As to the first, he calculates that the deanery is better by £300 a year than the Regius Professorship, which would be swallowed up in the extra entertaining required of one who was at once bishop and dean. On the second head, Cuddesden was more healthy than "to be cloyster'd up in a College." Lastly, he "feared much lest the discipline of this great college shd suffer."

One can hardly understand the shrinking from the responsibilities of the headship of a large college on the part of one who, when he was nearly twenty years older, accepted the limitless labours of the Anglican Primacy. How the matter fell out is recorded in a letter from Hanover from the Prime Minister, the Earl of Sunderland, to Wake, dated 27th October 1719:

"I have the honour of yr Grace's letter from Bristoll, which I laid before the King, who has order'd me to acquaint yr Grace that having receiv'd the post before the account of the Bishop of Bristoll's death he had allready declar'd his intention of making Dr. Boulter Bishop; and considering the smallness of the Bishoprick, of making him also Dean of Christ Church, which

post requires a man of integrity and courage; the Bishop of Oxford is certainly very honest and very well qualified; butt the King thought it not so proper to have the same person Bishop and Dean of the same Church, especially since the Bishop of Oxford is full as easy in his present preferments; otherwise the King would be very glad to shew the regard he has to him both upon his own meritt as well as your Grace's recommendation."

In March and April, as we have recorded, Wake was busy over the Bill against blasphemy and profaneness. He could count on Potter's support, though the latter seems to have been anxious not to leave his diocese. He writes to the archbishop from Cuddesden on the 14th April:

"I have here enclos'd my Proxy, wh I humbly desire your Grace to accept. Nevertheless, if by my personal appearance I could in the least contribute to the service of the Church or of His Majesty's Government and the Protestant Succession, or to relieve the Sufferers in the South Sea, especially the Proprietors of the Redeemable Annuities, of whom I have been sometimes sorry and indeed surpriz'd to hear great men speaking with so little regard, I should not fail on a very short notice to return to London. But as these and all other good ends may for anything which appears to me be as well answer'd by your Grace having my Proxy as by my own presence, I hope that, unless anything unexpected happens, I may be permitted to attend my Duty here in my Diocese."

On 4th May 1721, referring to the archbishop's failure to carry the Bill, Potter writes:

"I perceive that yr Grace had no opportunity to make use of my name, and am therefore sorry that I could not attend in person to bear my Testimony on this memorable occasion, but I am glad to find that you cannot say, as another good Bishop did, *No man stood with me*. May God forgive those who *forsook* you."

Three days later he writes again:

"I am very sensible that several clauses in the Bill

might have been amended, but your Grace, I doubt not, apprehends that no such alteration wd have made it pass . . . I rather hope that this attempt, tho' unsuccessfull, will create in them" (the opponents of the Bill, persons "averse to the doctrine of the Church") "a fear that something of the kind will be brought to pass on the first favourable conjuncture. . . . I expect, tho' absent, to have a small share in any ill-treatment wh your Grace may meet with on this occasion, neither shall I think it for my credit to escape it."

Potter followed Wake's lead in the Quakers' Affirmation Bill in January 1722, the proceedings on which we have referred to in Archbishop Wake's Life.

The glimpses we get of Potter from his letters to Wake in the course of 1722 show him a zealous Diocesan. He excuses himself from attending Parliament on the 11th March, saying, that he had been obliged to return the preceding week to his diocese, "where," says he, "there waited for me between thirty and forty candidates for orders whom I could not oblige to come to London without great inconvenience." He adds that he is obliged to attend the exercises in the Divinity School at least three days in the next week.

Although another dozen years or more elapsed before he was moved from Oxford, there can be no doubt that he was by this time high in the favour at any rate of the Princess of Wales and indeed of Ministers.

On the 23rd April 1722 he writes again to Wake from Cuddesden, to know whether he should come to town at the opening of Parliament. Lord Sunderland had died suddenly a few days before. Potter goes on to say, "Before I left London the Lord, who hath since paid his debt to Nature, very much pressed me to take the place formerly mentioned chiefly on account of His Majesty's service; on my refusal, made a general offer of anything else which would be more acceptable, to which I only reply'd that I had always left things of that nature to my superiors."

The latter part of 1722 was full of rumours of a conspiracy against the Hanoverian Dynasty. Atterbury, Bishop of Rochester, was charged with treasonable correspondence with the Pretender and his supporters in France. He was seized with his papers, examined by a Committee of the Council and lodged in the Tower. In the year before a very learned and interesting correspondence had passed between Potter and Atterbury respecting the time when the four Gospels were written. When he came to prepare his Defence on his impeachment before the Lords, Atterbury wished to use the fact of his having been engaged in questions of this kind at the time his enemies said he was deep in treasonable schemes, and asked Potter's testimony on the fact of their correspondence.

Potter, on the 29th April 1723, writes to Wake :

" I think I acquainted your Grace that in summer last I receiv'd several letters from the Bishop of Rochester, containing (besides matter of form and ceremony) nothing but inquiries relating to the Holy Scriptures concerning which he desir'd to have my thoughts . . . the producing these letters will in the bishop's condition much contribute to his justifican, they being a proof that at the time of writing them, that is in June, July, and August last his time and thoughts were employed in studies agreeable to his sacred character, and he therefore desires I would be present at the House of Lords to testify my having receiv'd them. As to this last I have excused myself, but that I may not be blamed for having suppress'd anything which the Bishop thinks necessary for his Defence, I have thought myself oblig'd to send my Secretary with the original letters except one whereof I have sent a ' copy,' the original having been returned."

He does not wish the archbishop to be surprised when he hears his name mentioned. As a matter of fact, Atterbury did refer to his communications with Potter in his speech to the Lords.

Potter does not from the Parliamentary Reports

appear to have taken any further part in the impeachment or condemnation of his brother of Rochester.

In observance of ecclesiastical rules, Potter was for strictness.

On 8th October 1723 he writes to Wake complaining of Letters Testimonial given to clergy not complying with the Rules promulgated by the archbishop in 1716. The writer hopes he has made those given at Oxford better than they were, though "this has given him trouble, many men being tenacious of their custom whether good or bad." He complains of the Cambridge Testimonials. One given him by a Candidate at his last ordination has "not only the College seal wanting but the date"; they do not "certify of their personal knowledge," nor give the occasion on which the Testimonial was given, nor "specify any time of the person's good behaviour." A few days later there is another letter from Cuddesden, in which he says:

"As to my coming to Parliament . . . I shall be and always have been ready to do so when there was the least appearance of occasion for my being there; and should that be really true which the Princess has said not only to me but to Mrs. Potter and perhaps also to others oftener than once, that I am usually the last to come to town and the first to leave it; I say, should this be so, the true reason has been that for several years past I have found I could be altogether as serviceable both to the Church and State whilst I remain'd here in the country as in town."

At the beginning of the next year he republished his *Church Government*. He reports:

"My Discourse of *Church Government* having been so much out of Print that scarce a single Copy could be found in any of the Shops, and the West Indians have desir'd that a considerable number should be sent to their Plantations, the Booksellers who have the property of the Copy have again reprinted it. There is no material alteration in this Edition."

JOHN POTTER

[*To face p.* 142

Bishop Potter took part, and apparently was interested, in the trial of Lord Chancellor Macclesfield in 1725, to which we have referred in the Life of Archbishop Wake. We may add here that he was impeached by the Commons, tried for thirteen days before the Lords, found guilty by a unanimous vote of ninety-three Peers, and condemned to pay a fine of £30,000, having, of course, before his trial resigned his Chancellorship. The charges against him were chiefly selling, or conniving at the sale of Masterships in Chancery, by himself when the office was vacant, by one master to another, and conniving at the irregular if not fraudulent practices of masters with funds in court. His defences were, no personal corruption, that the law, as interpreted by what was the practice, "allowed what I did."

No doubt the South Sea Bubble had turned people's heads by ideas of utterly extravagant profits to be made. But the sentence against him was unanimous; and though the proposal made just afterwards, that he should stand disqualified for any public employment, was lost, the voting on it being equal, forty-two on each side, he never came back to public life.

Potter as well as Wake, according to the Parliamentary Reports, voted for his conviction, as did fifteen other bishops. The question was put to the Peers on the 25th May; two days before, we find Potter sending Wake the order of the House giving the terms in which the question was to be put—as to which Potter seems to have felt some difficulty. His letter runs:

"Is Thomas, Earl of Macclesfield, guilty of High crimes and misdemeanour charged on him by the Impeachment of the House of Commons? And the answer thereto shall be pronounced by each Guilty or Not Guilty, upon His Honour laying his right Hand upon his Breast.

"My Lord,—I have here sent your Grace the order of the House wherein there may seem to be

some ambiguity ; but the Impeachment being antecedent to the Articles deliver'd in by the Commons, I submit it to your Grace whether the Lord may not be guilty of the crimes in the Impeachment tho' innocent of several articles.

" Your Grace also will observe that it is *High Crimes, etc.*, and not *the* High crimes.

" *May* 23, 1725."

Wake's endorsement is :

" In Sacheverell's tryall the Articles are made the charge. After reciting ym, they say, All wch crimes and misdemeaners the Comms are ready to prove,—and that the sd H S by preaching the sermons and publishing the Books (in wch these articles are contd) hath most grievously offended.

" And they pray that he may be put to answer all the premises and such proceeding had thereon as is agreeable to law and Justice."

Still referring to the very articles, two letters from Cuddesden to the archbishop, dated respectively the 29th August 1725 and the 19th July 1726, though of no grave importance, give us an insight into Potter's habits of thought, and show his respect for his chief.

" I have not troubled your Grace since I left London. . . . Some time since I finish'd the visitation of my Diocese, the hurry whereof, together with a cold, gave me a small fever. At Oxford I had a very good sermon preach'd by one of the Proctors of the University, who hath a living in my Diocese in defence of the Church's authority to impose subscriptions, which, if it be printed as it was intended to be, will, I doubt not, meet with your Grace's approbation.

" Perhaps your Grace may not yet have been informd that one of the Physicians lately chosen into one of Dr. Radcliffe's Fellowships, was oblig'd to leave a considerable Foundation, whereof he was a member because he would not make the Subscription requir'd by Law. Whether he can hold this Fellowship without Subscribing as is directed by the Act of Uniformity, your Grace can far better judge than I am able to do ;

but if on the account of his nonconformity he hath exchang'd a Fellowship of fifty or sixty, for another of three hundred pounds per annum, it is easy to see what encouragement this will give to others who are less modest and sincere than this young man is said to be."

His strictness in matters of Ecclesiastical Rule is illustrated by the following:

"CUDDESDEN, 19*th July* 1726.

"Dr. Bertie of All Souls, having a friend who intends to present him to a living vacant ever since the twelfth of April, as soon as he shall be qualified for it, hath desir'd me to admit him into Deacon's orders *extra tempora*, and afterwards into that of Priests. It hath never been my practice to ordain privately without your Grace's approbation."

So he asks for Wake's consent, or the refusal of it.

George I. died in June 1727, and on the 11th of the following October, George II. and his consort, Queen Caroline, were crowned at Westminster with great pomp. Potter had by this time become a prelate of known learning, honesty, and discretion, and a favourite of the Queen. As such he was selected to preach the Coronation sermon, which was published by special Royal Command. He was evidently the object of the Queen's special favour, and marked out for further promotion. There was a good deal of commotion in Episcopal circles in 1734, caused by the death of Willis, Bishop of Winchester. Hoadly had been much used by Ministers and the Court, to prevent the Presbyterians revolting from Walpole on his refusal to repeal the Test and Corporation Acts; and if we are to believe Hoadly's letter to Lord Hervey, he had been promised Winchester as a reward. Potter, Lord Hervey's *Memoirs* states, "a great favourite of the Queen's, strongly solicited it," and, as Walpole told Hervey, would certainly have attained it, had not the promises to Hoadly

been so strong. Anyhow, Hoadly got it, and Potter remained at Oxford.

We are now approaching Potter's appointment to Canterbury, and the circumstances attending his appointment require our attention. They are gathered mainly from Lord Hervey's *Memoirs* of the reign of George II. Hervey was a man of strong likes and dislikes, not favouring Church principles, rather a gossip, and allowance must be made accordingly ; but his position at Court, and his intimacy with the King and Queen, enabled him to know the facts.

On the Episcopal Bench, as it existed in 1737, a leading figure undoubtedly is Gibson, Bishop of London. We have seen and heard much of him in Wake's Life, and as we know he had been chaplain to Archbishop Tenison, and on Wake's promotion to Lambeth, had succeeded him at Lincoln, being in 1720 moved on to London. Gibson was a strong Churchman, a learned and scholarly man with great influence among the clergy. For some years before his death, Archbishop Wake was too old and infirm to attend to business, and Gibson was Walpole's chief adviser and helper in ecclesiastical affairs. His influence with the clergy enabled him to keep them quiet ; and Walpole, who had a keen recollection of the noise and smoke of the Sacheverell trial, desired nothing less than to revive those fires, and was grateful to Gibson accordingly. Walpole was reviled at for making him a Pope. " And a very good Pope he is," replied the Minister. Gibson's *Codex Juris Ecclesiastici Anglicani* is, says Mr. Hore, the established repertory of the statutes and usages affecting the English clergy. His pastoral letters, says the same author, were those of an earnest and profoundly religious prelate. His orthodoxy was beyond question : " he prevented Dr. Rundle," says the Editor of Nichols' *Illustrations of Literature* (iii. 478), " though strongly patronised by Lord Chancellor Talbot, from being an English bishop, on account of some unguarded expres-

sions he had used, relating to Abraham's offering of his son Isaac." No one can have read over the large number of letters to the archbishop from Edmund Lincoln, beginning in 1716 till 1723, when the signature in the clear handwriting changes to Edmund London and goes on thus for five or six years, without being struck with the clear headedness and grasp shown by the writer. It was generally expected that on Wake's death, Gibson would go to Canterbury. But before that he had fallen out with Walpole over the Quaker Relief Bill, and his promotion to the primacy was not to be.

It had been the policy of the Whigs and Walpole to help the Dissenters, but not too much. Walpole's view, however, was that the Quakers had a strong grievance. Parliament had given them some relief despite the opposition of Atterbury, but it was thought that it was still unjust to proceed against them in the Ecclesiastical Courts for the non-payment of tithes and ecclesiastical dues and to fine and imprison them. What they wanted was not to get out of paying tithes, but as they could only pay under compulsion, to have that compulsion of the least uncongenial kind—a justice of the peace instead of the Ecclesiastical Court. Walpole thought so. The Bishop of London then lived in Whitehall and Walpole had just moved to Downing Street. Hervey's story is that Gibson called to thank Walpole for his assistance in defeating the Test Act, and, without mentioning the Quakers' Bill, went to a meeting of the bishops, where it was resolved to rouse the clergy throughout the country to petition against the Quakers' Bill. The Bill passed the Commons but was thrown out in the Lords by fifty-five to thirty-five. Walpole never forgave Gibson this, and complained bitterly to the Queen of his conduct and of that of Sherlock who had supported him.

Sherlock, then Bishop of Salisbury, had been a favourite of the Queen, though, like Gibson, a strong

Churchman. Hervey says that Sherlock had counted if Gibson had gone to Canterbury on succeeding him in London, and when Gibson was out of the way seems to have even thought he might have the Primacy himself; but Sherlock had offended in the same way as Gibson, and Walpole ruled them both out, telling the Queen, according to Lord Hervey, that the feeling of the House of Commons was so strong against Sherlock as likely to carry Church power very high, that should she send him to Canterbury she must call a new Parliament. Walpole himself had leanings towards Hare, who had been his tutor, but Hervey, according to his own account, advised against him and constantly urged both on the Queen and Walpole the claims of Potter. When Walpole had expressed to Hervey[1] the difficulty of selecting a Primate, the latter, according to his own account, said: "Sure, sir, you have had enough of great geniuses; why can you not take some Greek or Hebrew blockhead that has learning enough to justify the preferment and not sense enough to make you repent of it." "Potter is a man," said Hervey to Walpole about this time, "of undoubted great learning, of as little doubted probity. He has been always, though reckoned a Tory in the Church, uninterruptedly attached to this family without the lure or reward of any preferment but this poor Bishopric of Oxford, where he has stuck for twenty years. The Queen loves him, his character will support you in sending him to Lambeth, and his capacity is not so good nor his temper so bad as to make you apprehend any great danger in his being there."

So Potter got the Primacy. One of Potter's first duties as archbishop was to attend on her death-bed the illustrious Queen to whom he so largely owed his elevation to the Primacy. We are indebted to Lord Hervey's voluminous memoirs for our knowledge of the details of Queen Caroline's ten days' illness. Lord

[1] Hervey's *Memoirs*, 108.

Mahon sees some reason for mistrusting some of Hervey's strange stories of this period, and they should probably be taken with reserve. The Queen's malady was painful and steadily increased in gravity. Had its true nature been known even the crude surgery of the 18th century would probably have relieved her. But she had a strange wish for keeping it a secret, and by the time the surgeons knew about it, they could do little but add to her pain and discomfort by small operations. George II. had two good points only: (1) freedom from personal cowardice; (2) his love and esteem for his clever, superior wife. So far as a man such as he was—a husband habitually unfaithful, after the manner of his time and upbringing—selfish, stupid, and conceited, could love and esteem a wife such as she was, he did so. He was thoroughly grieved and alarmed at her serious illness, but he bullied her and scolded her nearly the whole time she lay dying: "Why can't you lie still?"

Caroline was a religious woman. She had not been brought up a Churchwoman: she had felt difficulty about conforming entirely to the rule of the Church of England in the matter of receiving the Communion. She was intellectually strong; on some points her religious faith may have wavered, and the abstract theological discussion she loved may not have removed her doubts. But she met death as a Christian woman would. A few days before her death some persons about the Court suggested that she ought to have some clergyman to pray with her. Through her daughter, Princess Emily, the suggestion that the Archbishop should be sent for was carried to the King and Queen. Potter came, and continued afterwards to pray by her morning and evening; "at which ceremony," says Hervey, "her children always assisted." According to a letter from Charles Ford to Swift, she received the Sacrament at Potter's hands: but this is not beyond doubt. Whether she felt that she could not sincerely receive it as a sincere and convinced Churchwoman,

or whether the want of an outward reconciliation with her ill-conditioned son, the Prince of Wales, caused a difficulty, we cannot say: the conclusion of Mr. Croker, the editor of *Hervey*, is that she did not receive it. Certain it is that the archbishop continued to attend her morning and evening, and that the last word she ever spoke was "Pray."

Less than a year after Queen Caroline's death the archbishop, as an official personage, attended the birth of George III. The Prince of Wales, Frederick, had been turned out of St. James's Palace by his father the year before, and was then living at Norfolk House, St. James's Square. The house in which George III. was born was pulled down in 1742, when the present house was built on its site. Here the monarch whose wisdom, or the lack of it, was to affect for so many years the well-being of millions of people of British birth, first saw the light, arriving with such improvident haste that the Archbishop of Canterbury was the only great personage of State who was in time to be present at the birth. So little promise did the royal infant give of long life that he was privately baptized at 11 o'clock the same evening by Secker, Bishop of Oxford, then Rector of St. James's, afterwards archbishop.

Perhaps, having regard to their having been competitors for the Primacy, there remained a little tension, if not jealousy, between Potter, while archbishop, and Gibson, Bishop of London. In the summer of 1740 a marriage was arranged between Prince William of Hesse Cassel and the Princess Mary, daughter of George II., and a question arose at the Council as to the solemnisation of the marriage. The archbishop and the bishop each claimed the right to officiate. George II. refused to have the bridegroom over here, though he favoured the marriage. If there were an actual marriage in London, the Bishop of London, as Dean of the Royal Chapel of St. James's, would officiate. If there were merely a solemn contract of

espousals this would be a matter really for a Secretary of State. Prayers, a Benediction, and a Latin address might be added, but these would properly fall to the archbishop as head of ecclesiastical affairs. The archbishop's view seems to have prevailed.

The interference of the Episcopal Bench in the debates of the House of Lords at this period appears to have been infrequent. In the Parliamentary Proceedings for 1737, 8, and 9, only Bishop Hoadly of Salisbury is reported as a speaker. He spoke on two occasions—(1) on the case of Porteous, so well known to readers of Scott's *Heart of Midlothian*; (2) in support of the convention with Spain. In the three succeeding years he is almost the only bishop who is reported to have intervened. I cannot find that Potter ever spoke in the House of Lords during his Primacy nor during his twenty-two years' tenure of the Bishopric of Oxford.

In 1742 a series of animated debates took place in the House of Lords on a Bill introduced by Ministers, dealing with the sale of and duties on gin and other spirituous liquors. Potter does not appear to have spoken, but he voted with all the other bishops present against the Bill. The matter stood in this way. In 1731, Parliament, at the instigation of Sir Joseph Jekyll, had passed the Gin Act. At this time drunkenness had increased among the lowest orders, especially the drinking of gin, on which hitherto only a very small duty had been imposed, and which was sold without licence by persons whose ordinary trade was unconnected with the liquor traffic. The Justices of Middlesex had petitioned Parliament against the evils arising from this widespread consumption of gin or Geneva. So, on the motion of the benevolent Jekyll, a heavy—for the lower orders, a prohibitive—duty was put on gin. Walpole had and expressed misgivings about the measure. So heavy a duty would be evaded, he thought—and the revenue would be a loser.

Alas, as sometimes happens, philanthropic intentions failed. Walpole's somewhat chilling anticipations were

realised ; informers were afraid to inform and justices would not convict. The consumption of gin increased and was more shameless than ever ; no licences were obtained and no duty paid. Retailers set up painted boards inviting people to be drunk for a penny, dead drunk for twopence, and have straw for nothing. The drinking dens were haunts of hideous immorality and bestial vice. To stop this, ministers brought in a Bill to reduce the licences and to have the duties also reduced. Their idea was to have a small duty per gallon on spirits at still head and a licence at 20s. By these it was hoped the price of gin by retail would be moderately but really raised. Thus the law would be enforced and the revenue would gain. Two bishops, Secker of Oxford and Sherlock of Salisbury, spoke against it, asserting that it would mean a return of the worst sights which had been common before the Gin Act of 1736, and all the bishops opposed it. The Bill passed, however, by a great majority. Smollett remarks (xi. 141): "We cannot help owning that it has not been attended with those dismal consequences which the Lords in the opposition foretold."

In 1742 the great Walpole fell, and the direction of foreign affairs passed into Carteret's hands. He was a capable but not a successful Minister. Europe was unfortunately embroiled in the war of the Austrian Succession. The main dispute of the war was to determine whether Maria Theresa should be allowed, on the death of her father, the Emperor Charles VI., to succeed to his dominions. France supported the Elector of Bavaria's claim to part of them, and Frederick II. of Prussia took the opportunity of claiming Silesia. George II., if not the English people, was warmly interested in Maria Theresa's cause. He was Elector of Hanover as much as King of England, and dreaded France getting the upper hand in Germany. In 1743 he took the field against the French, and won a victory at Dettingen on 27th June in that year, for

which Handel wrote his Dettingen Te Deum. He returned to England after a few months, and on the 17th November we find Potter, whose health had begun to fail and who was hard on seventy, writing to him: "Yr poor subject and servant, unable to pay his personal attendance, most humbly begs leave to congratulate yr Majesty on yr happy arrival after your ever memorable and glorious campaign."[1]

The glorious campaign had, however, by no means finished the war on the Continent. The English were suspicious that, to please the King, Carteret was spending English money for Hanover rather than England's sake. The war was a visitation from which deliverance should be sought; and Potter, with the piety which was sincere in him, and reflecting the national feeling, writes, on 15th December 1743, to the Duke of Newcastle, Secretary of State, that he is still unable to pay his personal attendance, and asks him "to put the King in mind that every year since the war began there had been a Day of Publick Fasting and that the same is again generally wished and expected."[2] In 1744, Carteret was succeeded by Henry Pelham and the Duke of Newcastle in the Broad Bottomed Administration. The war on the Continent continued to give Ministers anxiety, and Potter rightly reminds Newcastle, on 1st October 1744, "of the Annual Fast for the following winter or spring."[3]

In 1744 we may mention that during a debate on a Bill to prevent correspondence with the Pretender's sons, a pointed appeal was made to the Episcopal Bench for their views—mainly, it would seem, on the issue whether the sins of a father should be publicly visited on his children; but it was Secker of Oxford who responded to the appeal, answering the question in the affirmative.

In 1745, of course, the position was aggravated, and the question became not whether the English or the

[1] Newcastle Corr., addl. MSS, Brit. Mus., 32701, f. 264.
[2] *Ubi supra*, f. 314. [3] *Ubi supra*, f. 337.

French were to win a victory in the Netherlands, though Marshal Saxe's victory at Fontenoy on the 1st May 1745 stimulated our enemies, but whether Britons at home were safe from invasion, and was the Government which Parliament had set up nearly fifty years before to be maintained or overthrown. In reading the history of the period we must remember that, though the vast majority of Englishmen were resolved to uphold the Hanoverian Dynasty and the Protestant succession, there were people, and not a few in such a place as Oxford, who were not loyal to the King. There was a King's cause to be supported, and when you made a bishop or a judge you had to consider whether your nominee was the King's friend. As we read the correspondence of Newcastle—for twenty-five years or more the arch-dispenser of patronage—we are struck how repeatedly the claim of the applicant for some preferment is based on his being "stanchly favourable to the person and government of the King," and on the fact that by his appointment the cause of the King's friends will be strengthened in the county or the district.

We have described in the Life of Archbishop Herring Charles Edward's Rebellion in 1745, since he had so active a part in crushing it. It is sufficient here to say that before the summer of 1746 began the Rebellion was over. The archbishop, in May 1746, encloses to Newcastle the form of address which Convocation seeks to present to the King, saying that the whole clergy having in their several dioceses addressed His Majesty at the beginning of the Rebellion, the Minister thought an address from Convocation "would be enough now."[1]

The Scottish peers who had taken part in the Rebellion and who had not been pardoned, Lords Kilmarnock, Cromarty, and Balmerino, were to be tried for treason in the House of Lords. At the end of July 1746, Potter's age and infirm health made him anxious to be excused

[1] Newcastle Corr., addl. MSS, Brit. Mus., 32707, f. 204.

attendance at the trial. "I do indeed go abroad," he says, "but am not able to pay so long an attendance as on such an occasion may perhaps be requisite."[1] A day or two later he writes that, "the Duke being now returned and the Rebellion ended, a day of Solemn Thanksgiving"[2] should be appointed.

In regard to appointing bishops for the American colonies, a burning Church question for the first three-quarters of the eighteenth century, Potter took a sound Church view. He writes to Newcastle on 10th March 1745/6:

"The bishops last year requested your grace 'that the members of our Church in the American Plantations, where they are very numerous and do probably constitute a much larger body than all the other inhabitants of those Provinces together considered, might be permitted to have bishops and thereby favoured with an opportunty of receiving Confirmation and Holy Orders in their own country without the necessity of coming to England, which many of them have attempted to do to their great hazard and expense and some to the loss of their lives.'"[3]

The ten years of Potter's archiepiscopate, 1737–1747, were very important years in the lives of John and Charles Wesley, and in the development of Methodism as a separate ecclesiastical organisation. In 1738 John Wesley returned from, and Whitfield went to, Georgia; in 1739 John Wesley built his first chapel at the Foundry; in 1741 he first regularly employed unordained licensed preachers; in 1744 the first Wesleyan Conference met at the Foundry Chapel, London. It was, no doubt, not till 1760 that his licensed lay preachers began to administer the sacrament at Norwich; but this, which Charles Wesley called "the Rubicon," was but the inevitable result of what had been long in preparation, and John Wesley seems

[1] Newcastle Corr., addl. MSS, Brit. Mus., 32707, f. 480.
[2] *Ubi supra*, f. 561. [3] *Ubi supra*, 32706, f. 282.

to have been the only leading man who was blind to the goal for which he was making.

The account of Potter's interview with John and Charles Wesley is well known. The brothers had about this time, 1738, an interview with Gibson, the Bishop of London ; they, in fact, voluntarily waited on him to justify their conduct. One of the main points discussed was the doctrine of Assurance, on which the learned and pious bishop had, and could have, no objection to the view that a Christian man, after examining his life and weighing his own sincerity, might be conscious that he was in a state of salvation and could hardly be without such an assurance; but this hardly satisfied his interviewers, who required a more enthusiastic confidence. There was also much discussion on the Wesleys' right, without episcopal permission, to baptize, and particularly to re-baptize, Dissenters. The bishop was against such re-baptism, and the interview ended with the bishop giving them leave to come again. A few weeks later Charles called on the bishop to tell him he had so re-baptized a woman who was dissatisfied with her baptism by a Dissenter. The bishop disapproved, and a sharp discussion followed. In the end the bishop had to remind Charles that he had no licence to officiate in the diocese at all, and was liable to inhibition. "Do you now inhibit me?" was the rather bad-tempered reply. "Oh, why will you push matters to an extreme?" answered the bishop ; and he had to cut short the interview by saying, "Well, you knew my judgment before, and you know it now." Soon afterwards they waited on Potter without a summons to justify themselves. "He showed us," says Charles, "great affection, and cautioned us to give no more umbrage than was necessary for our own defence, to forbear exceptionable phrases and to keep to the doctrines of the Church." We told him we expected persecution would abide by the Church till her articles and homilies were repealed. He assured

us he knew of no design in the governors of the Church to innovate; neither should there be any innovation while he lived. It was probably at this time that this "great and good man," as Wesley calls the archbishop, gave him advice for which he acknowledged many years afterwards that he had ever since had occasion to bless God. "If you desire to be extensively useful, do not spend your time and strength in contending for or against such things as are of a disputable nature, but in testifying against open notorious vice, and in promoting real essential holiness."[1] S. T. Coleridge's note on this is interesting: "I cannot think highly of a maxim better calculated to soothe and justify a Socinian in his Pelagian self-redemption than to direct a minister of the gospel in preaching the whole truth in Christ."

Potter is said to have had while archbishop only four chaplains; of these, Chapman, afterwards Archdeacon of Sudbury, and Dr. Tunstall, Fellow of St. John's College and public orator at Cambridge, were two.[2]

We have not much available material for an accurate picture of Potter as a man. No intimate friend, as with his successor Herring, has left us a correspondence with him which might portray to us from his own words what was his real personal character. He was throughout the friend of Walpole and of Lord Hervey. He was a hard worker and methodical in his work throughout his life. His biographer, Dr. Anderson, says that when he applied his businesslike habits of particularity to the numerous tasks that fell to him as archbishop, it "gave him an air of stiffness and importance which he did not formerly show." Hence he was charged with having his head turned by his exalted position, with "assuming great pontifical state, and submitting to flattery of even the grossest kind." "It is generally

[1] Southey's *Life of Wesley*, i. 190.
[2] Nichols' *Literary Anecdotes*, ii. 167.

believed, indeed," says his biographer, "that there was some ground for the charge."

The main witness against him on this head is the clever and learned, but highly eccentric and certainly unorthodox, Whiston, Professor of Mathematics at Cambridge. In his memoirs he says that he spoke favourably to Queen Caroline of Potter as a candidate for the Primacy; that he had thought him an excellent pastor of a parish, without any marks of pride or vanity; and proceeds: "I then little dreamed that this Dr. Potter by going to Lambeth would take high and pontifical state upon him; that he could bear the kneeling of even bishops before him when, at a solemn meeting of the members of the Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts, he gave the blessing, which myself saw; that he would procure half a dozen footmen to walk bareheaded by him when he was in his coach, three of a side besides his train-bearer, at such his appearances."

Nichols (*Literary Anecdotes*, i. 176) says of the archbishop: "He was a learned and exemplary divine, but of a character by no means amiable; being strongly tinctured with a kind of haughtiness and severity of manners."

He is said to have had, beyond the ordinary infirmities of old age, no warning of his approaching end; but was seized with an apoplectic fit and died at Lambeth, 10th October 1747, in his seventy-third year. He was buried in Croydon Church, where there is a monument to his memory.

Potter died a rich man. His biographer, Dr. Anderson, says that he left a fortune of £90,000; *The Gentleman's Magazine* gives it at £70,000. Anyhow, having regard to the then value of money, it was a very large sum.

Potter had a large family, but only two sons and two daughters survived him. His eldest son, John, was at Christ Church, Oxford, and took Holy Orders. He

was liberally provided for by his father, according to the custom of the day, with Church preferment. The Vicarage of Blackburne in Lancashire was his first preferment, followed in 1739 by the "valuable sinecure" of Elme-cum-Emmett in the Isle of Ely. Two years later his father made him Archdeacon of Oxford. Richer things followed—the Vicarage of Lydd in Kent, the 12th prebend of Canterbury, and the rich benefice of Wrotham in Kent, which he retained with Lydd. In connection with this a story is told. The canon provides that two benefices may be held in the same county provided they be not more than 30 miles apart. A clergyman applied to Archbishop Potter for a dispensation to hold two livings in the same county more than 40 miles apart. Quoth the archbishop, "They are out of distance." The applicant replied, "If your Grace will look at the map of Kent, you will find they are nearer than Lydd and Wrotham." The applicant got the dispensation.

But family life had its vexations and disappointments even for an eighteenth-century archbishop, and John, to his father's disgust, married a domestic servant in the archiepiscopal establishment. So, beyond his rich benefices, he got no more from his father. In 1766 he was made Dean of Canterbury, when he resigned his archdeaconry.

The archbishop's large fortune went to his second son, Thomas, who went to the Bar, being a member of the Inner Temple. He seems to have inherited his father's wits, and perhaps his good looks, but certainly not his good morals. He was Registrar of the Province of Canterbury, and Recorder of Bath. Like many successful barristers, he went into Parliament, and was member for St. Germans, then for Aylesbury, and afterwards for Okehampton. In 1757 he was appointed Joint Vice-Treasurer of Ireland. Writing in 1750, when the Prince of Wales was supporting the opposition to Walpole, Horace Walpole says: "The

Prince has got some new and very able speakers, particularly a young Mr. Potter, son of the last archbishop, who promises very greatly: the world is already matching him against Mr. Pitt. His two most celebrated speeches were on the Seaforth election and on the contest between Aylesbury and Buckingham for the summer assizes." He is said to have been introduced into Hogarth's cartoon of an election. He was a member of the witty but profane set that met at Medmenham, and is charged by Wilkes' biographer with having poisoned Wilkes' morals. He died in 1759 without apparently fulfilling his early promise. Of him Nichols, in his *Literary Anecdotes*, says that "the youngest son, the favourite Jacob whom he thought more worthy of his estate, was highly exceptionable in his moral character, however distinguished by his abilities, and in particular his behaviour both before and after his marriage to his first lady, Miss Manningham, whom his father obliged him to marry, is well known and remembered."[1]

The archbishop's daughters made clerical, almost episcopal, marriages. One married Thomas Tanner, D.D., a son of Bishop Tanner of St. Asaph, one of the most learned antiquaries of the day. He was Prebendary of Canterbury and Rector of Hadleigh and Monks Eleigh, Suffolk. Another married Dr. Milles, for whom his father-in-law got the United Rectories of St. Edmund the King and St. Nicholas Acon; he held also the Rectory of Merstham, Surrey, and the sinecure of W. Tarring, Sussex. He was a man of great culture, who succeeded Bishop Lyttelton as President of the R.S. He finally was made Dean of Exeter, with which he held his other preferments except W. Tarring.

One of the dispositions in Potter's will formed the subject of a litigation which excited interest in legal as well as ecclesiastical circles at the time, and is of interest now because we realise as we read about it how

[1] Nichols' *Literary Anecdotes*, ii. 63.

notions of Church patronage as property have changed, and how such a litigation on such a subject-matter could hardly proceed nowadays. It related to the archbishop's options. By ancient ecclesiastical law in this country every bishop appointed to a see, whether newly consecrated or translated, had to give to the archbishop of his province the next right to present to any ecclesiastical preferment in the bishop's gift upon its next becoming vacant, which the archbishop chose to select. Hence the name "option." Let us illustrate. The Bishop of Chichester had a piece of patronage in his gift, viz., the right to appoint to the office of Treasurer of Chichester Cathedral. S. was appointed Bishop of Chichester, X. being then Treasurer, and P. Archbishop of Canterbury. The archbishop as his "option" chose the next presentation to the Treasurership, and the bishop duly conveyed it to him. Death determined how the thing worked out. If Bishop S. died first the option failed, as it was held that the bishop could only give and convey to the archbishop his own right to fill the Treasurership and this never was effective. But the fact that Archbishop P. died, leaving the bishop and the Treasurer, did not matter. What the archbishop got was property and passed as part of his personal estate to his executors and through them to his legatees.

In 1840 options were done away with, the Act carrying into effect the Fourth Report of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners having by S. 42 prohibited the conveyance by any spiritual person of any right or property belonging to him as such.

The clause in Potter's will dealing with his options was as follows:

"I give and bequeath to my executors all my options in trust, nevertheless that in disposing of the said options regard be had according to their discretion to my eldest son Mr. Potter, Archdeacon of Oxford, to my sons-in-law, the husbands of my daughters, to my

present and former Chaplains, and other domestics, particularly to Dr. Tunstall my Chaplain, and to Mr. Hall my librarian; also to my worthy friends and acquaintance, particularly to the Rev. Dr. Richardson of Cambridge, who" (the archiepiscopal testator naïvely adds) "'will I hope in due time find some opportunity to rectify those mistakes in his printed accounts of my dear and most honoured patron Archbishop Tenison of which he has been by me advertized.'"

Dr. Paul and Dr. Chapman, two of the three executors named in the will, survived the archbishop and proved the will. When the matter came into litigation it was alleged in the suit, and was not—and probably could not be—denied that in his lifetime the archbishop had amply provided for his son John, for his sons-in-law, and for Dr. Tunstall, and had also "promoted" Chapman—who, as we have said, had been his chaplain—to the value of about £500 a year.

After the archbishop's death three of his options fell in, *i.e.* the occupiers of three of the offices of which he had acquired the next presentation died; of these one was a rectory with cure of souls. For this—perhaps because it had the semblance of a duty, a "cure"—there was no scramble and no dispute about it. The other two were the Treasurership of Chichester and the Precentorship of Lincoln. The Chichester office fell vacant first. Chapman liked it, and his co-trustee, Paul, presented him to the post. When challenged, Paul justified the appointment on the ground that Chapman, having been a chaplain, was under the clause in the archbishop's will an object to benefit by an option; that being also a trustee, were Paul to die before the other options fell in, Chapman as surviving trustee could not present himself and so might come off without any option-benefit, and said that he was willing as the other options fell in to give them to the son, sons-in-law, and persons named in the will other

than Chapman, who, provided he got the Chichester Treasurership, disclaimed all further benefit.

However, John the archbishop's son and his brothers-in-law, husbands of his sisters, were not satisfied. "We come first in order in the clause in the archbishop's will," in effect they said, "and no one else ought to get anything till our hunger for preferment is satiated, which it is not." They went to the Court of Chancery: and here they failed, the redoubtable divine Chapman being confirmed in his Treasurership. The victory may have been a doubtful boon to him, if it whetted his appetite for more preferment and more ecclesiastical litigation. Before the next option the precentorship of Lincoln fell in, Paul was dead, and Chapman sole trustee. In justice we have to look at what was done through spectacles of the eighteenth century, when Church patronage was looked upon as a form of property of which every cleric got and was entitled to get as much as he could, within the four corners of the law; but even when so regarded, Chapman's conduct merits condemnation. In the first place, he thought of taking the precentorship himself—so the Lord Keeper found as a fact in his judgment; he approached the Bishop of Lincoln to see if the matter could be got through, with a proposal thrown in, to make it more presentable, that one of the objects mentioned in the will should get one of the livings already held by Chapman as a sort of exchange. This was too much for the bishop, who was uneasy and asked for time to consider it.

Mrs. Potter, the archbishop's wife, had a nephew a clergyman named Venner. The archbishop, who had been fond of the young man, had helped his education and given him a living in Kent of £100 a year not very far from Merstham, one of Archdeacon Chapman's own livings. Chapman now formed a plan by which through Venner's co-operation he might retain for himself the coveted Lincoln precentorship. Venner

seems to have been a *persona grata* to the Potter family, and even the pluralist and archdeacon, the archbishop's eldest son, had suggested he should be helped out of the options. So Chapman approached him ; told him he had long desired to serve him ; told him of the Lincoln option by which Chapman said he thought Venner might be benefited. "You might not care for the Lincoln precentorship with its canonry attached," quoth the covetous archdeacon, "but suppose we had a mutual giving up : you give up to me the Lincoln offices and I give up to you my living of Merstham, which is commodious to your present living." It would have been too much to expect a young cleric in the year of grace 1760 to scout a suggestion of the kind when made by one in the position of an archdeacon.

The bishop required Chapman to make a presentation to the vacant office : so he executed a presentation of Venner thereto. Then the report quaintly goes on : Venner signed a certificate to the bishop that Chapman had offered him the precentorship but that he chose in lieu thereof and in the way of exchange certain other preferment more suitable to him then in the possession of Chapman, and humbly requested the bishop to admit Chapman to the precentorship.

But Naboth was not long left in possession of his vineyard. A new actor appeared on the scene. Our readers may remember as one of the persons specially named to be benefited under the "options" clause in the archbishop's will the Rev. Dr. Richardson of Cambridge. He was Master of Emmanuel, Cambridge, and had been a great friend of the archbishop's, and had, at his request and that of the learned Bishop Gibson of London, undertaken a new edition of Godwin de Præsulibus. It seems not unlikely that among his friends were lawyers of eminence : perhaps Mr. Yorke, afterwards Lord Hardwicke, was a friend and advised him that Chapman's position could be successfully

attacked. At any rate, Richardson filed his bill in Chancery to restrain either Venner or Chapman from being inducted or installed. Everyone was a defendant —Chapman, Venner, the archbishop's son, sons-in-law, chaplains, and the bishop. Richardson's case was that he had altered Tenison's life as the will directed, and that everyone named in the clause had from the archbishop in his lifetime or since his death, by means of the options, received some benefit or preferment except him, Richardson. The defendants, of course, according to the old Chancery practice, had to put in sworn answers to the bill turned into interrogatories; and when Chapman and Venner's answers (particularly Chapman's) came to be settled, their counsel was in difficulties how to meet on oath the suggestion that when Venner was presented by Chapman to the precentorship and canonry there was a bargain or promise that he should give it up to Chapman in exchange. The sailing was certainly very near the wind. They both denied any agreement or promise for the exchange. Chapman admitted having had for more than twelve months the intention of making the exchange if Venner having got the offices should be willing, that he believed Venner was willing, but that he Chapman was not absolutely determined within himself and therefore could not say whether, if Venner having got the precentorship and canonry should offer to exchange, he Chapman would accept the offer, and so would not say whether the intention was at an end.

Venner said that had he got possession of the precentorship and canonry he would have been willing, and did intend, to exchange them for Merstham, and that he was *inclined to believe* that he still intended to carry out the exchange if Chapman consented.

The case was heard for four days before Lord Keeper Henley, afterwards Lord Northington, a by no means incapable judge.

There were undoubted weaknesses in the cases of

Chapman and Venner. The judge said had he thought it proved that there was a bargain between them he would have set it aside. "I own," said he, "there is strong foundation of suspicion and jealousy," but he accepted their oath that there was no bargain. There were, however, difficulties in the plaintiff Richardson's way. The executor had a discretion, and if he was not the object of that discretion, where did his claim come in? So the Lord Keeper dismissed the bill, but, according to the report, without costs against all the defendants except the bishop, who got 40s. costs. But Mr. Yorke, the friend of Dr. Richardson, advised him to appeal to the House of Lords—thinking so well of the case that, according to Mr. Nichols' *Literary Anecdotes*, v. 158, he offered to plead it gratis.

There was a three-days' hearing in the House of Lords, at the close of which the Lord Keeper's decree was reversed. Chapman was ordered to present Dr. Richardson to the Lincoln precentorship and canonry, and to pay Dr. Richardson's costs in the Court of Chancery.

The case is reported in Burn's *Ecclesiastical Law* under the heading of "Bishops' options," and in 2 Brown's Reports of Cases in Parliament.

THOMAS HERRING

1747–1757

In passing from Potter to Herring we come, it appears fair to say, to a somewhat lower level. As we have said so often, it is idle to judge an archbishop of 1750 by the standard of 1900. Potter had imperfections: he was stilted and starchy; did too well for himself and his belongings out of the emoluments of the Church, the draper's son leaving at his death £90,000, the equivalent of £200,000 nowadays; showed scant sympathy with the efforts of Wesley and Whitfield to bring the degraded masses to the salvation of Jesus Christ. But withal, Potter was a man of parts and industry; possessed of first-class abilities, he was from boyhood a diligent student, a good Latin and Greek scholar. When he wrote of Church Government and the Fathers he wrote of matters which he had studied deeply. His conviction that it was for the good of religion in this country to proceed and to proceed only on settled Church lines perhaps saved the English Church from innovations which a man like Hoadly might have thought improvements, but which would have been highly offensive to multitudes of Churchmen since, if not then.

It is more difficult to point out the conspicuous merits of Herring. If he owed his preachership at Lincoln's Inn and much of his subsequent preferment to Lord Hardwicke, as seems probable, it is not likely the Great Chancellor promoted thus a man of no merit. The writer of his Life in the Preface to his published collection of seven sermons (repeated in the *Biographica*)

is, in the style of biographers at that day, so profuse with his epithets of flattery that it is hard to dissect out the real man and his real virtues. The best means we have of getting at his true character is from his correspondence with William Duncombe. With this gentleman, an author and a man of high intelligence,[1] the archbishop had a lifelong friendship, and maintained throughout life a constant correspondence, beginning in 1728, and continuing to within a few months of the archbishop's death in 1757.

Thomas Herring was a son of the Church, his father being the Rev. John Herring, rector of Walsoken, in the county of Norfolk, where the future archbishop was born in 1693. He received his early education at Wisbech School, and in June 1710 was admitted at Jesus College, Cambridge. Here he continued till he took his B.A. degree, but in July 1714, seeing no prospect of a Fellowship, he removed to Bennet College, of which he was chosen a Fellow in April 1716. He was ordained deacon in the same year.[2]

For seven years he joined Dr. Denne, afterwards Archdeacon of Rochester, in taking pupils, Herring undertaking the classical coaching. Herring was a man to remember old friends, and he, when archbishop, gave preferment to Denne's son. In 1717 the future Primate became M.A., and in 1719 was ordained priest.

He was successively minister of Great Shelford, Stow cum qui, and Trinity, Cambridge. In 1722, Dr. Fleetwood, then Bishop of Ely, made him his chaplain, and later in the year gave him the livings of Rettingdon, in Essex, and Barley, near Royston, in Hertfordshire. Herring seems to have resided at the latter place, from which several of the Duncombe letters are addressed.

Bishop Fleetwood had a high opinion of his chaplain. Down to 1763 the London residence of the bishops of Ely was, and for centuries had been, in Ely Place,

[1] See his Life, Nichols' *Literary Anecdotes*, viii. 267.
[2] Nichols' *Illustrations of Literature*, iii. 451.

Holborn. Under an Act passed in the third year of George III., the house in Dover Street, which is now the Albemarle Club, was purchased for them. Bishop Fleetwood generally preached in the winter season in the chapel belonging to his Palace in Ely Place, but he was now an old man in bad health, and accordingly employed his chaplain to occupy his pulpit in the episcopal chapel. He declared to his friends that he never heard a sermon from his chaplain but what he should be proud to be the author of himself. But Herring, whether from the exertions of influential friends or as the result of his own exertions and merits, was on the way to further honours and preferments. He seems to have maintained touch with his university, took his degree of B.D. in 1724, and about the same time was presented by the King to the London living of All Hallows the Great. It seems, however, that he gave this up before institution. In 1726, probably under the influence of Sir Philip Yorke, then Attorney-General, afterwards Lord Hardwicke, who was Treasurer of the Inn in 1725, on the death of Dr. Lupton, the Honourable Society of Lincoln's Inn elected him their Preacher—a post which down to quite recent days has frequently been the stepping-stone to the highest preferments in the Church. This post Herring retained many years. His sermons are said to have been received by his legal and other auditors with the highest approbation, and to have been marked by "manly sense," "most benevolent principles," "happy elocution," and "unaffected delivery." He is said to have avoided the disputes canvassed among Christians, but to have enforced with clearness and warmth the fundamental duties of the Christian life. On one occasion only the preacher's homiletics seem to have given offence and created clamour. There stood in those days not far from Lincoln's Inn a theatre known as The Lincoln's Inn Play-House, and in the year 1728 *The Beggar's Opera*, a composition of the poet Gay, was being performed

there. In this the performances of a band of street robbers and their punishment on the gallows were represented with musical accompaniments, the leader of the band, Macheath, being the hero of the piece. There was complaint about this time that night robberies with violence were especially prevalent in London. On the 30th March 1728 a letter signed "Philopropos" was sent to the *Whitehall Evening Post*, one of the London evening papers of the day, containing the following passages :

"How shocking then would it have appeared to bring upon the stage as a proper subject for laughter and merriment a gang of highwaymen and pickpockets triumphing in their successful villainies, and braving the ignominious death they so justly deserved, with the undaunted resolution of a Stoic philosopher. The courage expressed in the following lines would have become a Seneca or a Raleigh, but seems not so suitable to the character of a criminal.

> 'The charge is prepared, the lawyers are met,
> The judges all ranged (a terrible show),
> I go undismayed, for death is a debt,
> A debt on demand, so take what I owe.'

"How far a late celebrated entertainment may have contributed towards those daring attacks, which are daily committed on the property of the subjects in the streets of our capital in defiance of all law . . . I will not pretend to say ; but I am sure nothing can be more likely to ferment these violences than such lines as these :

> 'See the ball I hold,
> Let the chymists toil like asses,
> Our fire their fire surpasses
> And turns all their lead to gold.'

"The detestableness of the entertainment and its being adapted to the taste of the vulgar and set to easy tunes (which almost everyone can remember), makes the contagion spread wider."

This was written by William Duncombe, afterwards Herring's friend, who was one of his congregation.

Herring, in a sermon at Lincoln's Inn Chapel, also condemned the performance as injurious to public morals, and his condemnation was thought to be justified by the fact that several thieves and robbers afterwards confessed in Newgate that they raised their courage at the playhouse by the songs of their hero Macheath before they sallied forth on their desperate nocturnal exploits. Duncombe backed up the preacher's remonstrance with a letter in the *London Journal*, signed "Benevolus," in which he commended "the clear reasoning, good sense, and manly rhetoric, the judicious criticism, as well as the Christian oratory" of the preacher. Swift, however, in the *Intelligencer*, vol. iii., praised the play as "having done eminent service both to religion and morality, and said that it would probably do more good than a thousand sermons by so stupid, so injudicious, and so prostitute a divine as Dr. Herring." Of the approbation thereby given by Duncombe to the preacher's condemnation of the play, Herring in one of his letters speaks as a favour which stands distinguished in his memory as "one of the most generous and disinterested offers of friendship which ever he received from anyone since he had been acquainted with the world."

Herring himself was throughout his life modest as regards the merits of his sermons, and deprecated the printing and publication of sermons generally. In a letter written not many years before his death, he says: "I never printed a sermon but upon compulsion, except one" (his sermon at York on the Highland rebellion). "There is eno' and too much of that sort of work. . . . Better discourses on morality cannot be had than hundreds which the world is in possession of."

About the same time as he was appointed to the preachership of Lincoln's Inn, George I. appointed him one of the King's Chaplains in Ordinary. In the same year, while hurrying to his beloved Osnabruck, George I. died. The last years of his reign had been

marked by the growth of the power and influence of Sir Robert Walpole, the first Prime Minister of England.

In ecclesiastical affairs, as perhaps in political, Walpole's maxim was *quieta non movere*. His own morals were lax, and neither from temperament nor habits was he likely to support strict or strong Church views. He conceived himself to have received support from the Dissenters in Norfolk, and was in principle favourable to the repeal of the Test Act desired by them, but contrived to put them off. Herring seems to have been on friendly terms with Walpole, and the former's churchmanship was of the type which would commend itself to Walpole for promotion.[1]

His friendship with the Attorney-General, Sir Philip Yorke, continued, and was confirmed no doubt by the great lawyer frequently if not regularly in term-time "sitting under" him as Preacher of Lincoln's Inn in the Chapel of the Inn. There is published in Lord Hardwicke's Life a letter to Walpole, which shows what an advocate of Herring's claims the Attorney-General was :

"LINCOLN'S INN, 18*th Jan.* 1730.

"SIR,—As you have been soe good as to honour my friend Dr. Herring with assurance of yr favour, I cannot help acquainting you that the Dean of Norwich is supposed to be in a dying condition, and likely to hold out but a little while. If you shou[d] think this preferment proper and he could succeed in it, the obligation woud be very great ; and as I know the relation it has to ye county in which you have so just an influence, I dare answer for him that you would find nobody more attached to your interest and service. I am ever with the greatest truth and respect, Sir, Your most obliged and most obedient faithful servant,

"P. YORKE.

"Sir R. WALPOLE."

Having taken his degree of D.D. in 1728, Herring was, in 1731, presented by Sir William Clayton to the

[1] Cox's *Walpole*, 436.

valuable living of Bletchingley, in Surrey. With this change Herring seems to have been pleased, and on the 23rd September 1731 he writes from Bletchingley to his friend Duncombe :

" I thank you most heartily for y^r^ very kind congratulatn upon my promotion to this good living : I am, I own, pleased with it, and hope I may say I am sure I ought to say contented. I bless providence for so ample a provision for me, and leave it entirely to his goodness as to the future enjoyment of it, but tho' I am contented myself you, I find, with the solicitude of a friend, will be extending yr care for me still further and prophesying I know not what promotions."

Whether through Duncombe's intervention or Sir R. Walpole's, the next step came soon. A few months later Herring was made Dean of Rochester, where he was installed 5th February 1731–32. For the next five years Herring divided his time between Bletchingley and Rochester. We get a peep of the inner sentiments of the man in his letters. His friend and correspondent Duncombe lost his wife at the beginning of 1735, and in a letter of condolence to his friend Herring writes :

" The finest sayings of the finest moralists are flat and unaffecting upon these trying occasions. The only thing that can give the mind any solid satisfaction is a certain complacency and repose in the good providence of God, under a sincere conviction that he orders everything for the best."

Shortly before this, Herring's friend, Sir Philip Yorke, who had by now blossomed into a peerage and the Chief Justiceship, got him to recommend a tutor for Philip Yorke, his eldest son. It seems that the Judge made it a *sine qua non* that the tutor should be a good Whig as well as a good scholar.

1737 saw Herring's elevation to the Episcopate. It may be well here for a moment to take stock of the general position of English public affairs in that year.

Sir Robert Walpole was still in power, and for the ten years George II. had reigned had been so. His ally, the intelligent and sagacious Consort of George II., Queen Caroline, was still alive, it not being till the autumn of that year that she was compelled to take to her bed by the illness from which she died on 20th November 1737. Four years before Walpole had been compelled to withdraw his Excise Bill. The eloquent but unprincipled Bolingbroke was back again, having got his attainder reversed in 1725, and with Pulteney, afterwards Earl of Bath, also an excellent speaker, stirred up popular feeling by misrepresentations of the effects of the measure, and the Minister had to drop it. But in spite of this he had emerged from the Elections of 1734 with nearly as many supporters in the House of Commons as before.

The preceding year had seen the affair of Porteous of Edinburgh, so well known to readers of Scott's *Heart of Midlothian*; and the fires of excitement caused by the affair were still smouldering.

As to foreign affairs, the war of the Polish Succession, with Austria and perhaps England on the one side, and France and Spain on the other—one of those foolish little wars in which in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries Europe was so easily involved by dynastic jealousy or personal ambition—was just over, peace having been signed at Vienna. To his high credit, Walpole, always for peace, had kept England out of the quarrel, but the feeling in England against Spain was strong, and "Jenkin's ear" was not far off.

1737 was, as has appeared in our Life of Archbishop Potter, a busy year in ecclesiastical matters. It was the year in which death ended Archbishop Wake's long decrepitude.

In forming an estimate of Herring's religious and ecclesiastical standpoint our best material will be what he says himself, and here his letters to Duncombe are of great use to his biographer. During

all his life the Church of England had been open to attacks—some of which were attacks not only on the Church's tenets, but on the whole fabric of Christianity itself. In 1718, Hoadly (of whom we have given some account in Potter's life), then Bishop of Bangor, preached his sermon on the Kingdom of Christ, the general tenor of which was that religious sincerity alone was to be the object of the Christian, and that little or no importance was to be attached to any visible Church or organisation of Christians. It found favour at Court, but provoked great opposition in Convocation and outside, and Canon Perry says the publications due to it approached two hundred. A little later Clarke, the Rector of St. James's, Piccadilly, published a Reformed Common Prayer Book, with alterations made in it to favour Arian views, and in 1718 a collection of hymns with the Doxology altered to an Arian form.

Between 1700 and 1750 Collins had attacked the Prophecies, Woolston the Miracles, of our Lord, and Tindal wrote advocating Natural Religion in place of the Christian Faith. These were answered by Churchmen such as Bishop Chandler, Sherlock, and Waterland, and by Nonconformists such as Chandler and Lardner. In 1733, Hoadly, the hero of the Bangorian controversy, published, but anonymously, *A Plain Account of the Nature and End of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper*. In this work he took a low or Zwinglian view of the Sacrament, regarding it as a mere memorial rite of no special value. In the middle of the century Hume put out his well-known attack on Miracles, and in 1754 the religious world was shocked by the publication of the posthumous works of Bolingbroke. There was hardly any part of the Christian faith which was not attacked, sometimes with ridicule, in these pages.

Herring must have been, and we know that in fact he was, familiar with these attacks or most of them. The problem how such attacks are to be best met

presents itself differently to different minds. There are always some who, deeming certitude to be the one indispensable factor in a religion that is to be of use to a man, place a set of doctrines beyond doubt or question, and regard all who are not in total agreement with them as to all of such doctrines as—to use the language of Sacheverell's famous sermon—"false brethren." Others with a less unquestioning faith, yet with a deep sense of the value of religion, like to minimise the number of points open to attack, and accept as allies, so far as they will go, those who champion some only of the dogmas they themselves are prepared to support. Herring firmly believed it was better to leave the vital truths of Christianity to defend themselves than to have them badly defended. He has been called a Latitudinarian, even an Arian. He was undoubtedly not a High Churchman—less so distinctly than his predecessor Potter or his successor Secker. To the Church of Rome he had strong political as well as theological repugnance. Horace Walpole calls him "a harmless, good man, inclined to much moderation, and of little zeal for the tinsel of religion"; after recounting his death, the same writer calls him "a very amiable man to whom no fault was imputed tho' the gentleness of his principles, his great merit, was thought one." Herring himself professed that he had never any taste for metaphysical studies, nor indeed did he make any profession of being a learned theologian. We have an instance of this in his attitude towards Bishop Law. Bishop Edmund Law of Carlisle is an interesting figure in ecclesiastical history in the middle and towards the end of the eighteenth century. He was the father of Lord Ellenborough, the Lord Chief-Justice. He favoured "decent freedom of inquiry," and was the friend of the celebrated Archdeacon Blackburne, but was a man of "great softness of manner," and of the mildest and most tranquil disposition. Law took his Divinity degree at Cambridge in 1749, and in his public exercise he

defended, it is said, what is usually called " the sleep of the soul," a tenet according to which our Saviour will at His second coming by an act of His power restore to life and consciousness the dead of the human species, who by their own nature and without this interposition would remain in the state of insensibility to which the death brought upon mankind by the sin of Adam had reduced them. Divines discussed Law's position on this and other dogmas. Archbishop Herring, on hearing of his thesis at Cambridge, said, "I neither justify, nor condemn you. If your doctrine be right, I am no loser ; if wrong, I am but as I was : I am in the hands of a just and merciful God, to whom I wholly commit myself. I believe His Gospels, and am persuaded you do as much as I, though we may have different sentiments about some particulars. We shall both of us, I hope, meet in Heaven."

The charge of Arianism against Herring is based mainly on the opinions he expressed on Hoadly's Plain Account and Clarke's Prayer Book. In a letter, written after his appointment to the Deanery of Rochester, to Duncombe, dated 9th November 1735, he says :

" I see no reason for such a prodigious outcry upon the Plain Account, etc. I really think it a good book, and as to the Sacrament in particular as orthodox as Archbishop Tillotson ; his prayers are very long, but in my poor opinion some of the best compositions of the sort that ever I read, and if I could bring my mind to that steady frame of thinking with regard to the Deity that is prescribed by him, I believe I should be so far happy as my nature is perhaps capable of being. There is something comfortable in addressing the Deity as the Father, not the Tyrant of the Creation.

Herring's opinion of Clarke's Prayer Book is in a letter to Dr. Jortin, which, though later in date, we may deal with at this point. Clarke's theology was open to question, but he was a man of high principle. In 1727,[1]

[1] Hore, ii. 17.

on the death of Sir Isaac Newton, he refused the Mastership of the Mint, worth £1200 to £1500 a year, on the ground that a clergyman ought not to accept a secular appointment; and it is thought that he refused perhaps more than once a bishopric offered to him because of his objection to subscription. Of Clarke's Prayer Book Herring wrote to Dr. Jortin:

"I have seen Dr. Clarke's Common Prayer Book.[1] I have read it, have approved the temper and the wisdom of it. But into what times are we fallen after so much light and so much appearance of moderation that we can only wish for the success of Truth. The world will not hear it, and the proof is very evident from this abominable spirit that rages against the Jews. I expect in a little time they will be massacred. What a thin covering of embers had kept down the fire of High Church. We are now treating the Jews just as the Mahometans kept the Christians, who can afford them no other epithet than Christian Dogs."

Herring was nominated Bishop of Bangor at the end of the summer of 1737. He was a *persona grata* to the Prime Minister, Sir Robert Walpole, but there seems little doubt that it was his friend Lord Hardwicke, who was now Lord Chancellor, to whom he owed his promotion. Of the two letters, the bishop-elect to the Chancellor and the Chancellor to the bishop-elect, which passed on the occasion and which are given in Lord Hardwicke's Life, we confess we like the Chancellor's the better.[2] The bishop is too unctuous and flattering, even cringing.

"I shall remember," he says, referring to the Chancellor's favour to him, "to my latest breath, with a quick sensibility that the happiness and honour of my life, whatever it is or may be, has been owing to the distinction with which you have been pleased to treat me and to the assistance by which you have raised me."

[1] Nichols' *Illustrations of Literature*, iii. 465.
[2] *Life of Lord Hardwicke*, i. 405.

Later he says that he only wishes "to act in such a manner as may become the station I am going to be placed in, and to do as little discredit as may be to your Lordship's recommendation of me."

The Chancellor is perplexed, as humbler persons have been since, how to address a bishop-elect, and begins:

"DEAR SIR, or by what other name must I call you." He goes on later: "I will be vain enough to avow that I feel a real comfort in my own breast in having cast in my mite towards giving to the Church a worthy and able pastor who will religiously and vigorously defend the cause of revealed religion without injuring that of natural; and not by giving up or depreciating the latter lay a sandy foundation for the former."

The Bishopric of Bangor was a small one, usually only held as a stepping-stone to something more prominent and lucrative.

Herring was a man who appreciated quiet and seems to have had misgivings as to the advantages of his new dignity. He writes from Bletchingley, the living he had retained with his deanery, to Duncombe:

"You are extremely kind in your congratulations upon the King's favour to me. . . . To say the plain truth, I am in no sort of raptures about it, nay indeed not without apprehensions that I am making work for repentance. . . . I have thought much of the affair and can form to myself no new felicities it can bring me, unless it be the opportunities it may possibly be attended with of living more among such friends as you are and some time or other doing them some good."

He was confirmed at Bow Church, 14th January 1738, and consecrated at Lambeth the day following.

There are but scanty materials available for giving any picture of Herring as a diocesan bishop. He accepted the standards of episcopal activity generally adhered to in his day. If he did little to raise them

there is no reason to think that he fell far below them. Unlike Hoadly, who preceded him at Bangor but never entered his diocese as bishop, and that very able man Bishop Richard Watson, who, after being a very high Wrangler, was Bishop of Llandaff for thirty-four years and fixed his home in Westmorland, Herring was at some pains to visit his diocese. In the autumn of 1738 he took a trip in North Wales. He comments to his friend Duncombe on the ruggedness of the scenery, but makes no mention of ecclesiastical or professional affairs.

A year later, however, he makes what he calls a "very romantic and most perilous" journey to his diocese. He says: "It was the year of my primary visitation, and I determined to see every part of my diocese: to which purpose I mounted my horse and rode intrepidly but slowly thro' N. Wales to Shrewsbury." He set out accompanied by his chancellor, his chaplain, secretary, two or three friends, and his servants. He is satisfied with one of the inns at which he stayed, and says: "I slept well, tho' by the number of beds in the room I could have fancied myself in a hospital. The next morning I confirmed at the church, and after dinner set out for the metropolis of the country called Dolgelley; there I stayed and did business the next day."

In July 1741 he seems to have made another tour through his diocese, and wrote to his friend the Chancellor, giving an account of the sickness and death then prevalent throughout the kingdom.

His asthmatic tendency made him live, when attending Parliament, at Kensington, and Nichols preserves a letter from Kensington in the following year to the Vicar of Ruthyn:

"KENSINGTON, 29*th April* 1742.

"I intend if it please God to visit the diocese this summer, and beg the favour of you to give me a sermon at Ruthyn Church. I have not yet absolutely fixed the day, but think it will be about the middle of June."

In his patronage he seems to have been careful even in his Welsh diocese. His predecessor at Bangor in 1734 was Sherlock, afterwards Bishop of London. He had wanted to "prefer" a curate in his diocese of whom he had formed a good opinion, and whom after he had become Bishop of Salisbury he recommended to Herring when the latter had gone to Bangor. Herring writes to the curate in February 1741 giving him a rectory :

"I am sincerely glad," he says, "of this opportunity of performing my intentions. I pray God send you health and long life ; that your family may feel the benefit of your removal as well as the parish, which I am confident you will take a very honest and religious care of."

At the end of the same year he writes :

"I have heard something indistinctly of the distresses of the clergy in some parishes and of your own ill-usage in particular in that respect ; which I should be glad to be acquainted with with more certainty and preciseness."

In April 1743, on the death of Archbishop Blackburn, Herring was appointed to York. Horace Walpole's ill-natured comment is : "Herring of Bangor, the youngest Bishop, is named to the see of York. It looks as if the Church were going out of fashion, for two or three of them have refused this mitre." In a note he gives Wilcox of Rochester and Sherlock of Salisbury as those who had so refused. There can be no doubt that again it was the Lord Chancellor who procured his promotion.

On 10th June he wrote to Lord Hardwicke giving an account of his journey into the North and taking possession of York, where he says : "I am placed by the King's favour through your Lordship's friendship." Later he says in another letter : "Your Lordship had so great a share in placing me in this situation." His description to Duncombe of his first visit to York

and his entrance on his archiepiscopal duties are worth transcribing :

" I was above a fortnight on the road (from London) before I reached Bishopthorp and immediately entered here upon a round of compliments and entertainments from which I retreated after ten days by changing the scene and fulfilling my second plan of visitat^n^. After a short recess I entered upon a third, and at a proper distance of time upon a fourth, which ended a fortnight ago and completed my visitat^n^. I bless God for it I have finished the work not only without hurt but with great pleasure to myself, and I returned home with great satisfaction of heart for having done my duty and acquired a sort of knowledge of the diocese, which can be had by nothing but personal inspection . . . what may give you by the rules of proportion a great idea of the importance of this district of England, I am confident I have confirmed above 30,000 people."

Herring's letters show him to have maintained a keen interest in public affairs. We have described in the Life of Archbishop Potter how England was involved under Carteret in 1742 in the war of the Austrian Succession, how George II. got his victory at Dettingen in 1743, and how in 1745 England had not only on her shoulders the war against France, but had her hands full at home with the Rebellion under the Pretender, Charles Edward.

On the 23rd September 1744, Thos. Ebor writes to the Duke of Newcastle from Bishop Thorpe :

" I fear you will find a session of some trouble from the untoward conduct of this Northern Prince, but I am pleased to find it the general sense of the King's friends in this great county that His Majesty's and the Public affairs can't be in better hands than Pelham and the Duke of Newcastle, an opinion that I am extremely zealous to cultivate." [1]

On the 25th July 1745, Charles Edward landed with the " seven men of Moidart " in Scotland.

[1] Newcastle Corr., addl. MSS, Brit. Mus., 32703, f. 319.

It was a crisis in Herring's life, and only those who have read with care the correspondence which passed from the summer of 1745 to the following spring between the archbishop and the Lord Chancellor can realise—(1) how gravely the throne of George II. was threatened by the rebellion; (2) what a leading part Herring took in fighting against it. The English public, though slowly reconciled to the Hanoverian Succession, perhaps had a sneaking affection for Jacobitism and were very apathetic. Herring, who was every inch a Whig and anti-Jacobite, is said to have been the first man who gave the alarm, the rebels' friends having concealed their movements so artfully that the news of Prestonpans was the first intimation to many Englishmen that the Highlanders were in arms.

Frequent and important communications passed between the Archbishop of York and his friend the Lord Chancellor on public affairs. Indeed, on Lord Hardwicke a very large part of the active duties of government devolved. George II. was—as he generally was when he ought to have been in England—at Hanover, and all his care and interests were there. To please him, and in defence of Hanover, a large body of troops, who should have been available for the British Government and who had they been in England would have crushed the rebellion at the beginning, were tied up on the Continent until Lord Hardwicke and his colleagues Henry Pelham and the Duke of Newcastle made George II. send for them. The Chancellor writes on 31st August to his archiepiscopal friend, and says in his letter: "Archbishops of York have before now drawn the secular as well as the spiritual sword, and I hope your Grace will stand between us and danger"; and his P.S. is: "Is it not time for the pulpits to sound the trumpets against Popery and the Pretender?"

On the 12th September the Chancellor again writes to the archbishop incidentally complaining of how his long vacation was being spoilt, but showing grave anxiety

as to the indifference of the public to the rebellion and fears as to the competence of Sir John Cope, the English Commander. The Chancellor's fears on the last head were well founded. Nine days later, on 21st September, Cope was utterly defeated at Prestonpans. The news of the defeat soon reached York, and the archbishop writes to Lord Hardwicke : " I own I conceive terrible apprehensions from the affair at Prestonpans," and, after describing the formidable character of the rebels' attack and failing to find a fit adjective for the English General's behaviour (" I won't give it the right name," he says), he goes on : " I hope in God all this is known above much better than it is here, and that it is now seen that this rebellion is not to be quashed by small pelotons of an army, but must be attended to *totis viribus*." In the same letter he gives the Chancellor an account of the archbishop's own exertions.

" We are all in motion," he says, " from one end of the county to the other, and the Lords will certainly do their duty. The city is so much in earnest that they will make of themselves a considerable purse and put between two and three troops into action. The Lord Mayor told me yesterday that the lowest of the citizens contributed something."

An association was formed at York, and a subscription proposed for money to raise troops for the defence of the kingdom.

On the 22nd September the archbishop preached a rousing sermon in York Minster, and two days later the neighbouring noblemen, gentry, and clergy met at York Castle, where they were addressed by his Grace in a speech of which the following are some of the leading passages :

" I am desired by the Lords Lieutenant of the several ridings to open to you the reason of our present assembling. . . .

" It was some time before it was believed (I would

to God it had gained credit sooner), but now every child knows it, that the Pretender's son is in Scotland, has set up his standard there, has gathered and disciplined an army of great force, receives daily increase of numbers, is in possession of the capital city, has defeated a small p^{t} of ye King's forces, and is advancing with hasty steps twds Eng. . . .

" But the great mischief to be feared, which ought to alarm us exceedingly and put us immedly on our defence, is ye certain evce wh opens every day more and more that these commotns in ye N. are but pt of a gt plan concerted for our ruin. They have begun under the countenance and will be supported by ye forces of France and Spain, our old and inveterate and, let me add, our savage and bloodthirsty enemies, a circe that shd fire the blood of every honest Englishman. If these designs shd succeed and Popery and arbitrary power come in upon us under the influence and diron of these 2 tyrannical and corrupted Cts, I leave you to reflect what wd become of everything that is valuable to us. We are now blessed under the mild admon of a just and Protestant King who is of so strict an adherence to the laws of our country that not a single instance can be pointed out during his whole reign wherein he hath made ye least attempt upon ye liberty or ppty or religion of a single pson. But if the ambition and pride of France and Spain is to dictate to us, we must submit to have a man to govern us under their hated and accursed influence who brings his relign from Rome and the rules and maxims of his govt from Madrid.

" As to you, my rev. brethren, I have not long had ye honour to preside among you, but from the experience I have had, and what I have always heard of yr honest love for yr country (if you permit me to say so), I will be yr secy to the public that you will decline no pains to instruct and animate yr people, nor expense accdg to your circumstances to stand up agst Popery and arbitrary power under a French or Spanish Govt.

" Let us unite then, Gentn, as one man to stop this dangerous mischief." [1]

The speech had the desired effect, and £40,000 was immediately subscribed for the purpose.

[1] Newcastle Corr., addl. MSS, Brit. Mus., 32703, f. 319.

Herring's activity earned approval in high quarters. Horace Walpole writes :

" Dr. Herring, the Archbishop of York, has set an example that wd rouse the most indifferent. In two days after the news arrived at York of Cope's defeat " (Cope was the English general at Prestonpans), " and when they every moment expected the victorious rebels at the gates, the Bishop " (he means the Archbishop) " made a speech to the assembled Company that had as much true spirit, honesty, and bravery in it as ever was penned by an historian for an ancient hero."

George II. seems to have expressed himself as very pleased with what the archbishop had done. In a letter to him from the Chancellor, dated the 28th September 1745, the latter tells Herring how he had made it his especial business to bring Herring's martial activities to his Sovereign's notice. This is how the conversation ran :

" *Lord Hardwicke* :[1] Your Majesty will give me leave to acquaint my Lord Archbishop that you approve his zeal and activity in your service ?

" *The King* : My Lord, that is not enough ; you must also tell the archbishop that I heartily thank him for it."

But the position remained gravely serious all through the autumn. Troops sadly wanted in England were still in Flanders, and it took time and trouble to fetch them and dispatch them to Scotland. Charles Edward held Court at Holyrood, and was threatening Carlisle and the towns in the north of England. Meanwhile, Herring was a right hand to the Government at York, prepared to house and feed generals, and even giving them wise counsel as to their manœuvres. On the 6th October he writes to Lord Hardwicke a long letter of news, in which he says :

" I purposed to have set out for London on Wednesday next, but I have had a sort of remembrance from

[1] *Life of Lord Hardwicke*, ii. 170.

the city here that it will create some uneasiness. There is a great matter in opinion, and if my attendance at Bishop Thorpe serves to support a spirit, or to preserve a union, or that the people think so, I will not stir. I have therefore put off my journey but order my affairs so that at the least intimation from your Lp. can *vasa conclamare* and set out in an hour. To talk in the style military (tho' my red coat is not made yet), the first column of my family went off a week ago, the second moves on Wednesday, the third attends my motions."

In the Chancellor's reply, dated seven days later, he says :

" I think your Grace has determined quite right in staying for the present at Bishop Thorpe, and everybody here thinks so too.

" I find your Grace has learned the style military, and presume tho' the paragraph about your red coat was not true yet you are by this time skilled in the exercises and can give the word of command."

Towards the end of October York itself was threatened by the Pretender's advance southwards. The archbishop's spirits rose as danger got nearer, and there is an amusing letter from him to the Chancellor written at this time in which he says :

" I find I must get into regimentals in my own defence in a double sense ; for an engraver has already given me a Saracen's head surrounded with a chevalier in chains and all ye instruments of war and the hydras of Rebellion at my feet ; and I see another copper plate is promised where I am to be exhibited in the same martial attitude with all my clergy with me. But by my troth as I judge fro' applications made to me every day, I believe I cd raise a regiment of my own order ; and I had a serious offer ye other day from a Welch curate fro' the bottom of Merionethshire who is 6 foot and ½ high, that hearing I had put on scarlet he was ready to attend me at an hour's warning if ye Bishop of Bangor did not call upon him for ye same service.

"Well, my Lord, I hope in God we shall one day laugh at these things in full leisure."

A contemporary letter from Thomas Bentham—a Yorkshire clergyman belonging to a clerical family well known in the North, and whose brother was printer to the University of Cambridge—gives us a good picture of Herring's activities at this juncture. It is dated 6th November 1745:

"Our Archbishop has indeed bestirred himself on occasion of the present state of affairs with a zeal becoming a Protestant Bishop, which has drawn upon him the resentment of the Pretender, from whom he has received two Letters, one with orders to disperse his Declaration contained therein among his clergy, etc.; the other commanding him not to attend the Parliament of the Elector of Hanover (for so the King is styled), but to stay and promote his interest in his Diocese—this you may depend upon as fact. He does indeed stay here himself (though his family is gone to town awhile longer), but that I am told is by order of the King and Council to promote His Majesty's interest in these parts. . . . The King's army, I mean the Foot, marched through this place about a fortnight ago in number about 9000, say some; but I hardly think there were above 7000 English, Dutch, and Swiss . . . they encamped that night on Clifford Moor, whither we followed to see the encampment. . . . I never before knew how to pity these poor people under the fatigue of long and dirty marches and (what must often happen) hard fare by day and a cold lodging and little sleep by night. . . . I trust the same good Providence which visibly interposed on our behalf by preventing the Rebels from marching Southward immediately after the defeat of our forces, when there was nothing to oppose their march and the whole country was in the utmost consternation, every day expecting the enemy at their doors, will be still our defender, and give us the victory over all the disturbers of our peace."[1]

All through November things continued to look threatening. Many of the soldiers in the English force

[1] Nichols' *Literary Anecdotes*, ix. 397.

could not be trusted, and Herring in his letters complains of their Dutch allies and wishes they were quit of them.

There were dissensions in Parliament, and on 10th November the archbishop writes :

" The great consolation I recd at this fearful juncture arose from the prospect of our hearty unanimity, which certainly if kept up to its first appearance would have done ye work without bloodshed ; but that prospect is over, and long before this our enemies are convinced from London that there are still people now that are either so weak or so designing as to help their cause much better than their faithful ally fro' France can do." [1]

Carlisle surrendered to the rebels ; and on the 22nd November the archbishop writes to Lord Hardwicke :

" It is not to be conceived how frightfully ye hurry was in ye city of York on Wednesday while ye apprehension was strong that they (the rebels) wd take this road. They are a little quieted to-day by the hopes that they are turned towards Lancashire. If the next express differs from this, and they come this way, not a soul will stay in York that can move from it.

. . . . . .

" Had I my royal Master's ear I shd think it the duty of an honest man and good subject to tell him that his crown was in danger of being shaken.

. . . . . .

" I stand ready to escape at half an hour's warning, and shall endeavour to do so."

Early in December the archbishop had a visit from the English commander, General Oglethorpe, who complained bitterly of his Dutch allies.

On the 18th December there was a general fast, and a grand service in Westminster Abbey attended by the House of Lords.

London was frightened. Hogarth's celebrated

[1] *Life of Lord Hardwicke*, ii. 185.

picture of the "March to Finchley" commemorates the Guards being sent to defend London on the north side.

A change, however, was now at hand. The Pretender got as far as Derby, and there a council of his leading men was held. They had to face the fact that the country, if it had not risen in fury against them, had certainly not risen in their favour. If they continued southwards they must fight a battle in which their success was doubtful. The Highland chiefs and their followers were unhappy in central England. So, much against Charles Edward's will, retreat was resolved on, which began on 5th December, and when begun was of a very rapid character. The Duke of Cumberland advanced into Scotland with 8000 men, and on 16th April 1746 defeated the Highlanders at Culloden.

The Rebellion, and with it the last hopes of the Young Pretender, were extinguished for ever. On the Duke of Cumberland's return to York on 23rd July 1746 the archbishop, at the head of the dean, chapter, and cathedral clergy, presented an address to the victorious prince in the following terms :

"Permit me, Sir, in the name of my brethren the clergy of this diocese and province (the King's ever-faithful subjects), to testify to Your Highness their exceeding joy at your happy and victorious return from the North.

"I want words to express the fulness of our grateful hearts on this occasion, and therefore I shall not attempt it.

"Your conduct, Royal Sir, has been glorious ; and though the things you have done for the nation are singularly great, your manner of performing them is still more to be admired. You have restored the public tranquillity at a very critical season, and done it, Sir, as became your high character, in every amiable light.

"Courage is almost natural to a young Prince, and is inherent in your royal blood ; activity and industry are often constitutional ; but to plan a great design

maturely, at a perilous juncture, to execute it with all the coolness and caution and providence of an old general, actuated with the fire and exertion of a young one; to use moderation and modesty in success, and in the midst of victory (where obdurate perfidy did not call for exemplary punishment) to treat unnatural and unprovoked rebels to the best government in the world as deluded subjects; these things, Sir, which truth obliges me to say (though unpolitely in the hearing of your Royal Highness), show the greatness of your understanding and the goodness of your heart, which make every subject of Great Britain not only to admire and love and serve you as their royal master, and the brother of their beloved Prince, but trust and depend upon you, as the happy instrument of Heaven, to save and protect and raise the honour of the nation.

"Go on as you have begun, Great Sir, in the paths of virtue and glory: and may the good providence of God always go along with you, direct all your councils, cover your head in the day of battle, and, as you fight the cause of truth and liberty, give uninterrupted success to all your undertakings."

Cumberland was a skilled, though not by any means a first-class, general. When it is remembered that he spent the time from April to July in crushing with merciless severity the luckless Highlanders who had been his opponents; that, as Mr. Gardiner says, "wounded were dragged from their places and shot, and a building in which twenty disabled Highlanders had sought refuge was burnt to the ground with the wretched fugitives inside it"[1]; and that Cumberland by his conduct after his victory gained the name of "the Butcher," we may think that the archbishop's language was too strong. But he felt no qualms, and in a letter to Duncombe says:

"I little thought I shd have been the subject of so much observation at this juncture, my meaning being only to discharge my duty in my proper sphere

[1] *Students' History of England*, p. 743.

and station ; but be the event what it will, I hope I shall have the grace never to repent of doing my best service to my country."

All through 1746 the punishment of the rebels occupied the attention of English Ministers. The Earls of Kilmarnock and Cromarty and Lord Balmerino were tried and condemned in Westminster Hall on 28th July. Herring had been near the scene of danger, and seems to have approved of strong measures for the complete extinguishment of the rebellion. In a letter to Lord Chancellor Hardwicke, written as late as the 16th September 1746, he says :

" I pray God grant the King and his friends penetration and opportunity to get to ye bottom of the evil and inspire into them safe and just means to prevent the return of it. Here are great and general apprehensions expressed, and strongly too in this county, that the King's mercy may give spirit to his enemies and dishearten his true friends."

Before Herring's next step there had been a change of Ministers. The Duke of Newcastle and his brother had pressed the King to bring William Pitt, afterwards Lord Chatham, into office ; the King refused, whereupon the Ministers resigned. George II. asked Carteret, now Lord Granville, whom the King fancied to be favourable to his Hanoverian predilections, to form a ministry, but he could not, and after forty-eight hours the Pelhams were back again with Pitt.

From whatever cause, Herring was on the side of the Pelhams, and on the 10th March 1746 he writes from Bishop Thorpe to Duncombe, who had congratulated him upon the failure of Lord Granville and the return of the Pelhams :

" Your congratulation upon a late turn of affairs was perfectly agreeable to me and to the general sentiment of this country. There is no bad consequence that was not to be dreaded had the resignations " (of the Pelhams and their friends) " been accepted."

The summer of 1747 saw a General Election. Pelham and Newcastle were to be continued in office even though what Mr. Gardiner calls "unblushing corruption" kept them there. Herring, whose efforts had made him influential in the North, had no doubts whom to support, and on 15th June 1747 writes to Newcastle: "As to our Yorkshire election I have as yet heard of no conference about it among the Lords. . . . I own I am for a peaceful scheme in a county where the great people were so lately and so usefully unanimous."[1]

On the 10th October 1747, Archbishop Potter died suddenly.[2] His see was offered to Gibson, Bishop of London, but he was too old and infirm to accept it. It was then offered to Bishop Sherlock, then Bishop of Salisbury, who had been Bishop of Bangor, an able prelate, who declined it on the plea of bad health, though he afterwards recovered sufficiently to move to London on the death of Gibson in 1748. Meanwhile Lord Chancellor Hardwicke, who was on the best of terms with the Pelhams, had very definite ideas of his friend Herring's promotion, and on the 13th October wrote to him of His Majesty's intention to move him to Canterbury.

The correspondence which passed on the subject, all preserved among the Hardwicke MSS, is interesting, but one fact stands out clearly, viz. that Herring not only did not seek, but was sincerely averse to the Primacy.

On the 17th October he writes to the Chancellor a letter which, though too full of adjectives and superlatives, makes what we have said plain:

"I have considered the King my best friend and my most honoured lord with all the coolness and deliberation and compass of thought that I am master of; and am come to a very firm and most resolved determination not to quit the see of York on any account or on any consideration; and I beg it of your lordship

[1] Newcastle Corr., addl. MSS, Brit. Mus., 32711, f. 369.
[2] *Parliamentary History*, ix. 1167.

as ye most material piece of friendship yet to be exerted by you to prevent the offer of Canterbury if possible, or to support me in the refusal if the other cannot be prevented.

. . . . . .

"I am really poor. I am not ambitious of being rich, but have too much pride with, I hope, a small mixture of honesty to bear being in debt; I am now out of it and in possession of a clear independency of that sort. I must not go back and begin the world again at fifty-five.

"The honour of Canterbury is a thing of glare and splendour, and ye hopes of it a proper incentive to schoolboys to industry; but I have considered all its inward parts and examined all its duties; and if I should quit my present station to take it, will not answer for it that in less than a twelvemonth I did not sink and die with regret and envy at the man who should succeed me here, and quit the place in my possession as I ought to do to one wiser and better than myself."

The following are the crucial parts of the next two letters in the correspondence:[1]

"Powis House, *20th October* 1747.

"My dear Lord,—I never received a letter from your Grace which gave any real concern till yesterday, and in truth the anxiety that has created in me is not easy to be described."

After describing the Bishop of Salisbury's refusal, Lord Hardwicke continues:

"To this refusal his lordship has adhered in another letter by yesterday's post. On Sunday noon before this last letter the King acquainted me with his resolution that you shd go to Lambeth, for which I thanked him as became me; not in the least suspecting (as I am sure I had no reason for it) that you would decline it; and yesterday noon His Majesty declared his pleasure in form to ye Duke of Newcastle to ye same effect. In this state ye affair stood at ye time I received your two letters, which your Grace will have the good-

[1] *Life of Lord Hardwicke*, ii. 347.

ness to forgive me in saying did to the last degree surprise and grieve me."

On the Chancellor hinting a doubt to the Duke of Newcastle and Pelham whether Herring would accept, they both said it was " impossible that a bishop in the vigour of his age, not quite fifty-five, of such a character, so much obliged to the King and so well esteemed and beloved in ye world, should decline it." They asserted " that it would have the worst appearance and create ye worst impression—make people doubt of the stability of His Majesty's Government, give a new triumph to the Jacobites, as if nobody of merit wd venture to accept the highest and most important dignity in the Church."

The Chancellor adds :

" For God's sake, for ye sake of ye King, ye country, and yr friends, don't *decline*. . . .

" You are called by ye voice of ye King and of ye best intentioned men, and in this limited sense *vox populi est vox Dei*."

The archbishop writes :

" My good Lord,—If you had been a witness of my agonies when the express came and could have seen me tossing in my bed afterwards in quest of what the great ones often want, you would have pitied me and repented of this last instance of yr excellent friendship. But about an hour agoe I took my resolution, and as I have no reason to repent of two removes yr Lp gave me I will hope ye best of ye third, and am now stepping to ye fire to burn three letters of refusal.

. . . . . .

" And now, my lord, after having said so much, and with a little spirit, give me leave to say that if his Majesty could be prevailed on to alter his arrangement by keeping me, and letting Hutton take ye chair pontifical, I will still leap for joy and send you ten thousand thanks."

Enclosed in the above letter was a copy of the archbishop's to the Duke of Newcastle, accepting the Primacy.

Herring was installed accordingly. He duly received the congratulations of his old college on his promotion, and his reply is preserved in Nichols' *Illustrations of Literature*:

"KENSINGTON, *3rd December* 1747.

"DEAR MASTER,—Your Fellows have been with me to-day, and delivered me a most obliging compliment, which has been rendered the more acceptable and, I will say, honourable to me by being penned by yourself. The fine things you say of me, I put to the score of your friendship; but will lay them up safely as an honourable testimony of your regard to me; and will now and then peruse as a polite instruction of one that means me well. The virtue of constancy which you are pleased to mention, I will most certainly practice in one instance, which is my friendship for you; for I long for nothing more than to show, by some real service to you, that I am, dear Sir,—Your most assured friend,

"THOS. CANTUAR."[1]

Two letters are extant written shortly after Herring's promotion to the Primacy. The first is in reply to the celebrated Whiston, Professor of Mathematics at Cambridge, who had written complaining of "the mean composition of the Forms of Prayer for the days of Fasting put out in Archbishop Potter's time, and begging that in the next Form for the Fast, 17th February, some serious Collect might be inserted on the occasion of the long and sore murrain among the horned cattle." Whiston also asked for a copy, if at Lambeth, of the Thanksgiving and Prayer on occasion of the Great Storm, 27th November 1703, "an excellent pattern for future forms." In his reply the new Primate says:

"I will do the best I can in this stat[n] to which indeed I have been forced. And as neither pride nor ambition nor covetousness tempted me to desire it, so it is my daily prayer to God that in the use and exercise of this great office I may keep my heart and my hands

[1] Nichols' *Illustrations of Literature*, iii. 454.

free from those sad temptations. I think it happy that I am called up to this high station at a time when spite and rancour and narrowness of spirit are out of countenance ; when we breathe the benign and comfortable air of liberty and toleration ; and the teachers of our common religion make it their business to extend its essential influence and join in supporting its true interest and honour. No times ever called more loudly upon Protestants for zeal and security and charity."

The second letter to which we wish here to refer, and which was written about this time, was addressed to an eminent Nonconformist divine, Dr. George Benson. Benson had lived for some time in the family of Dr. Calamy, and then ministered first at Abingdon and afterwards in London. Benson was a student,[1] and an author as well as a preacher, and Aberdeen University made him D.D. in 1744. Glasgow contemplated a similar conferring of honour, but a rumour of theological unsoundness stopped the project. In 1747 he published a volume of sermons on various subjects. He presented the new archbishop with a copy of these, and congratulations on his elevation. Herring's reply is dated the 2nd February 1748. In it he says :

" Reverend Sir,—I cannot satisfy myself with having sent a cold and common answer of thanks for ye volume of most excellent and useful sermons. I do it in this manner with great esteem and cordiality. I thank you at the same time as becomes me to do for your very obliging good wishes. The subject on which my friends congratulate me is in truth matter of constant anxiety to me. I hope I have an honest intention and for the rest I must rely on the good grace of God and the counsel and assistance of my friends."

The editor of Dr. Benson's *Memoirs* publishes Herring's letter in the Preface to Benson's *Life of Christ*, and praises it as breathing " that Christian charity which, did it prevail generally in the governors of the Christian Church, would produce most extensive good effects

[1] Wilson's *Dissenting Churches*, i. 114.

in regard to the present as well as the past happiness of mankind." There is also a letter from Herring to the Rev. Thomas Pyle, who was chaplain to the celebrated Bishop Hoadly and a man of note among Churchmen in the middle of the eighteenth century,[1] and this discloses further how Herring regarded his elevation. In it, writing from Kensington under date 17th December 1747, he says :

" Your kind wishes for me give me spirit and make my heart glad ; for, in good faith, I have been teased and terrified with this exaltation ; and thus much I will venture to say for myself, it shan't make me proud, it shan't make me covetous, it shan't make me ungrateful or unmindful of my friends : but it frights me and I fear has robbed me of the most precious thing in life, which is Liberty : but I will assert as much of it as I can, and not be for ever bound to the trammels of a long tail and ceremony, which my soul abhors."

In September 1748 the important See of London became vacant by the death of Gibson.

Newcastle was attending George II. in Hanover ; and Herring, who fully felt his newly acquired responsibilities as Primate and wanted a Bishop of London on whose help and support he could rely, writes to him from Kensington, under date the 12th September 1748. After reporting the Bishop of London's death, he intimates that it is of the highest importance to introduce a man upon the Bench of most distinguished character. " I have before me," he goes on, " very particular, and I think I may call it alarming, evidence that some business on the scheme of Reformation of our Establishment in its Doctrines, Discipline, and Liturgy is now on foot and ready for publication, and it will require the assistance of men of the best characters and tempers on the Bench of Bishops to conduct the affairs of the Church in such delicate circumstances. The scheme is now in the Lord Chancellor's hands . . . it appears to be very serious . . . and is proposed as the united sense of

[1] Nichols' *Literary Anecdotes*, ix. 438.

some of the best of the clergy or laity in the kingdom, and is found in the shape of a Petition to both Houses of Convocation."[1]

The archbishop modestly expresses his wish "to procure to himself such assistance in the discharge of that high office as may enable him in the approaching times of trial to do his duty. What is intended was known, he says, "to the late Bishop of London, who appriz'd me of very busy times approaching."

Newcastle's reply and its enclosure give us a picture of how a place of such importance as the Bishopric of London was filled in the middle of the eighteenth century, and the parts which the King, the Minister, and the Primate respectively had in the business.

The movement referred to in Herring's letter appears to be the agitation started by Jones of Alconbury and supported by Francis Blackburne, which, according to Mr. Hore, "advocated a trenchant review with alterations in the Church services and Ritual."[2] It was in 1749 that Jones, a man of real piety, published his *Free and Candid Disquisitions relating to the Church of England*.

As to the vacancy in the See of London one thing seems clear, that George II.—and it is much to his credit —wanted to give it to the great Bishop Butler. Queen Caroline almost on her death-bed had asked her husband to see to Butler's advancement, and had also recommended him to Archbishop Potter, and the year after his wife's death the King had made Butler Bishop of Bristol. Bristol was a poor bishopric, worth about £700 a year, and was nearly always held with a deanery, St. Paul's, or Christ Church. Butler was made Dean of St. Paul's in May 1740. Now George II., faithful to his wife's wish, meant Butler to be advanced—to London he would prefer—if not to Durham; for Durham was likely to be vacant soon, Dr. Edward

[1] Newcastle Corr., addl. MSS, Brit. Mus., 32716, f. 213.
[2] Hore's *Ch. of Eng., from Will. III. to Victoria*, ii. 22.

Chandler, the Bishop of Durham, lying ill in London of the illness of which he died on the 20th July 1750. But Newcastle wanted Sherlock for London. Sherlock, who had succeeded Hoadly at Bangor in 1728 and at Salisbury in 1734, was a leading Churchman, had been Master of the Temple, and had written against Hoadly, and more actively as a Christian apologist against Collins and Woolston. He had declined the Primacy on the score of health. Newcastle respected his ability and piety; perhaps he was also anxious to clinch him as a supporter of the Government. For Sherlock had been a waverer; his father had been a nonjuror, and when he recanted got the Deanery of St. Paul's. The son hesitated about supporting the Hanoverian Succession, so that the rhymster of the day wrote:

> "As Sherlock the elder with his jure divine
> Did not comply till the Battle of Boyne,
> So Sherlock the younger still made it a question
> Which side he should take till the Battle of Preston."

He seems in spite of his piety to have been of a rather quarrelsome temper. He had a difference with Herring about "an option," which almost prevented their speaking to one another soon after his removal to London, and as to which Herring says to Newcastle, "I will support my right with half my income," but as to which fortunately he can report two months later that he can "see some hopes of accommodation in the affair of the option."[1]

To return to the appointment of a Bishop of London, Newcastle writes to his brother, Pelham, from Hanover, and after mentioning the vacancy arising by Gibson's death, says: "The King designs it for Butler, but as I have a notion Sherlock may like it, I have got leave to offer it to him. If Sherlock accepts London, Llandaff will have Salisbury of course, and Durham be open for Butler."[2]

[1] Newcastle Corr., addl. MSS, Brit. Mus., 32718, ff. 47, 80.
[2] *Ubi supra*, 32716, f. 278.

He encloses the proposals he had made to the King, at the head of which is Dr. Butler, Bishop of Bristol, to be Bishop of London, and then follow proposals consequent on the first change, including one that Hayter, who was afterwards Bishop of London, and who was a Yorkshireman of position and influence, should succeed Butler at Bristol and St. Paul's. Almost on the same day he writes to Herring "to know Your Grace's thoughts on these proposals,"[1] and Herring writes back, on the 29th September 1748, approving Dr. Hayter "to succeed the Bishop of Bristol in both his Preferments." Courtierlike he says he is glad now to retract as "needless and impertinent to your Grace" the exhortations he had given in his letter of the 12th September.

Contrary to expectation, Sherlock accepted London, so there was no immediate move for Butler; but George II. remained firm that he should have Durham, for in June 1750 Newcastle writes to the archbishop: "The Bishop of Durham is dying. The translation of the Bishop of Bristol to Durham is already determined by the King."[2]

In October 1748 Archbishop Herring received a valuable addition to the Library at Lambeth. Tenison had bequeathed all his MSS, not before deposited at Lambeth, to Gibson and Dr. Ibbot, his librarian. Gibson was the survivor, and under the directions in his will his collection,[3] including what was the chief part of it, that of Archbishop Tenison, filling fourteen folio volumes, was delivered to Herring and placed in the Library at Lambeth. It was indexed and bound by Archbishop Secker's orders.

With Dr. Philip Doddridge, author of the well-known hymns, "My God and is Thy table spread," "Ye servants of the Lord," "Hark the glad sound the Saviour comes," Herring had some friendly correspondence. Doddridge was one of the most eminent

[1] Newcastle Corr., addl. MSS, Brit. Mus., 32716, f. 281.
[2] *Ubi supra*, 32721, f. 53. [3] Nichols' *Literary Anecdotes*, v. 289.

Nonconformist divines of the middle of the eighteenth century, and until the autumn of 1751 was minister of the congregation at Northampton. He fell a victim to consumption, and at the end of that year went abroad, but soon died. There is an interesting account of an interview which Doddridge had with Herring, contained in a letter of Doddridge to his wife, dated the 4th August 1748. He says :

" I sat a full hour with him, *i.e.* the archbishop, alone, and had as free a conversation as I could have desired. It turned . . . especially on the affair of a comprehension, concerning, I very evidently perceive, that tho' his Grace has most candid sentiments of his Dissenting Brethren, yet he has no great zeal for attempting anything in order to introduce them into the Church, wisely foreseeing the difficulties with which it might be attended ; but when I mentioned to him (in the freedom of our discourse) a sort of medium between the present state and that of a perfect coalition, which was that of acknowledging our clergy as unschismatic by permitting their clergy to officiate among us if desired, which he must see had a counterpart of permitting Dissenting Ministers occasionally to officiate in churches, it struck him much as a new and important thought, and he told me more than once that I had suggested what he should lay up in his mind for further consideration."[1]

Herring writes to him from Lambeth under date the 21st July 1749 :

" Reverend Sir,—I have been since I received your letter in a very disagreeable situation moving my family to Lambeth. I have a very true regard and honour for you ; and shall be most sincerely glad to see you whenever your affairs bring you to London. . . . I am always at home, and the sooner my friends call upon me in the morning, so much the better. I am at leisure constantly by nine. . . . I cannot go to settle at Croydon this summer for reasons very apparent to a man that knows anything of cleaning and fur-

[1] Doddridge's *Correspondence*, v. 75.

nishing houses called *Palaces*.—I am, with most sincere esteem, Reverend Sir, Your obliged and assured friend,

" Tho. Cantuar."

A letter to the same divine, written in June 1751, says :

" I am always glad to see you. I shall be at home on Saturday morning, and remember I am an early man."

It is not generally known that during a long period a tortoise had been an occupant of the garden at Lambeth. The first archbishop that introduced one was Laud, and it lived till about 1749. Herring installed a successor, and wrote to the Lord Chancellor :

" It is a very trifling thing to tell y^r^ Ldship that I have put a tortoise in my garden here. Not that I purpose to live against him, but to keep up to the full ye number of old domesticks. I hope he will like my coleworts as well as those of St. Kits, his native country. His house is a curious dome and painted by the best hand in the universe. I have no forebodings from the circumstance that the first Archbp that introduced a tortoise here lost his head." [1]

We refer in the Life of Archbishop Secker to Herring's efforts to get him some preferment after his long tenure of the See of Oxford, but in one of his letters on the subject, written in July 1750, he also recommends the Dean of Christ Church, Dr. Coneybeare, for a bishopric, and adds some remarks which are interesting as showing what a Whig archbishop felt towards the Tory university of Oxford. " It will be," he says, " a work of time to bring that University into a wise way of thinking and acting—to pick out and distinguish those valuable men who are friends to His Majesty and the Protestant Succession." [2]

By the summer of 1751 the question of naturalising the Jews was being stirred, though but faintly. The

[1] *Life of Lord Hardwicke*, ii. 401.

[2] Newcastle Corr., addl. MSS, Brit. Mus., 32721, f. 424.

Government of Pelham and the Duke of Newcastle on the whole favoured it; they thought it would bring wealth and wealthy people into the country, though, strangely enough, the Corporation of London and the merchants and traders petitioned against it.[1] We have detailed later in Archbishop Secker's Life the disastrous course the Bill had; passed one session and repealed the next by its promoters in the Ministry in an importunate hurry—the bishops supporting both its passing and its repeal. The sentiments of the clergy as to the passing, at any rate, of such a measure, required attention, and were the subject of communications between the archbishop and the Secretary of State. In a letter to Newcastle, dated the 5th March 1751, Herring says: "I have desired the bishops to meet here on Friday to consider the Hop, the Quaker, and the Naturalisation Bill so far as concerns the admission of the Jews." He suggests that instructions may have to go to the clergy, who may perhaps be "factious." He hopes the Hop Bill "will miscarry." He thinks it hard to alter the law "to the distress and detriment of the Clergy," in relief of the Quakers whose "reasonable complaints against the Clergy are few or none," and proceeds: "As to the admission of the Jews I am constitutionally prone to indulgences, but great difficulties occur to one's mind. In the first place they are a peculiar people and one knows nothing of their turn at home, the spirit of their economy, the true influential Principles of their religion, the nature of their connections and private engagements, the degree of their reverence for any Laws or Government but of their own cast, their sentiments of Christians and their obligations to live well with them." He suggests it a wise thing "to know more of them before we let them into privileges" which once given can't be easily taken away. Other Governments had been cautious about it. Oliver Cromwell "and his strait-

[1] Smollett's *History*, xii. 144.

laced" divines considered the matter, but it went off. In America even Locke had required a belief in the Christian Religion as essential. If Jews are naturalised, why not Mahometans with all their apparatus of Mosques and Mollahs? He asks the Minister to communicate such thoughts to him as may serve for his direction, and winds up with a sentiment well befitting a Whig archbishop under a Minister who followed Walpole's precept, *quieta non movere*. "In this country there is no rest for the soles of our feet but by standing upon a good-natur'd establishment with a legal Toleration appendant."[1]

We may anticipate a little by showing here, how, when the clamour against the Jew Bill had risen to its greatest height by the autumn of 1753, Herring showed himself as having little keenness for the maintenance of the Act or its repeal. He says:

"One is ashamed for the spirit of our country when we consider the inveterate and widespread prejudice which attends the Jew Bill, a Bill innocent at least, if not useful in policy, but as to our Religion and Church Establishment utterly unconnected with it. However, faction, working upon the good old spirit of High Church, has made wild work with the nation. As the obtaining the Bill was really worth no hazard, so the repealing it seems hardly worth a Debate unless any danger may arise from the Government giving way to a most unreasonable popular clamour."[2]

It must be confessed that Herring's views as to the consecration of bishops for the American colonies were less sound from the Churchman's point of view than those of Potter or Secker. He writes to Newcastle on 20th June 1750:

"I say nothing to Your Grace about a matter relating to American Episcopacy because I know you have had the history of it. It was transacted at two

[1] Addl. MSS, Brit. Mus., 32724, f. 161.
[2] *Ubi supra*, 32733, f. 162.

meetings. I was accidentally absent from the first, from the second by design, not from resentment. When the King commands me to consider that affair I will do so with my best judgment and with a principal regard to the tranquillity of his Government, but not before." [1]

But if unsound on the American Episcopate, Herring seems to have done his duty as President of the S.P.G. He writes to Newcastle on the 17th September 1751 : " As I am to meet the Society for Propagating the Gospel, I expect some enquiries about our application to the King for a General Collection. November is the latest month for settling about this truly important business. They wish to be assured of His Majesty's favour to them now." [2] And on the 21st October 1751 he writes his thanks for procuring Royal Warrants for a General Collection. He asks Newcastle to try and procure the Royal Bounty, and adds : " There is necessity for this. We are in truth quite reduced ; a speedy assistance would be as good almost as the Bounty itself."

Later, in 1754, doubtless at the archbishop's request, the Duke of Newcastle, who, by the death of his brother, Henry Pelham, had become Prime Minister, becomes a subscriber of 20 guineas to the S.P.G., and Herring writes to him under date the 24th July 1754 :

" I shall never teaze the Administrat[n] on the Foot of Episcopacy in America, as our Society was formed with great wisdom and goodness, the execution of its design has been conducted with integrity, and I will hope to good purpose in a politicall as well as a religious light. I have hitherto endeavoured and shall continue so to do to keep clear of the rancour of High Church and govern our affairs so far as in me lies by the gentle methods of Christian moderation."

" High Church " is here used by the archbishop, we think, in its eighteenth-century sense.

[1] Addl. MSS, Brit. Mus., 32721, f. 132.
[2] *Ubi supra*, 32725, ff. 186, 327.

Even before his health broke down in 1753, Herring seems to have felt the burdens of his Primacy heavy. Anthony Ellys, afterwards Bishop of St. David's, was a man of whose wisdom he thought highly. He writes to the Secretary of State, on the 16th July 1752, recommending Ellys for promotion, and says he desires the appointment of some "friend of more particular confidence": "it is not unreasonable," he says, "for me to wish for a sort of coadjutor Bishop; I know how much I want one. Two of my best Predecessors since the Revolution, Tenison and Wake, were indulged in this sort of advantage, tho' they less wanted it, having got abilities as well as integrity. I claim a title only to the last quality."[1]

As regards Herring's attitude to and treatment of Church questions, what may be called the Broad Churchmen of his day worked especially in two directions: (1) comprehension of Dissenters, and (2) an easier subscription for the clergy. The first involved a relaxation of the formularies of the Church, which would have allowed some at any rate of the Nonconformists to come within the pale of the National Church. In this effort the Broad Churchmen were, of course, only carrying on what had been afoot ever since the Restoration. So far the High Churchmen had always been successful in defeating any such relaxation. Sheldon outmanœuvred Baxter. The Commission of William III. and Tillotson had been a failure. Herring would probably have favoured such an admission of Dissenters. It must be remembered that throughout the middle of the eighteenth century Nonconformity had some excellent representatives among its ministers. It would have been difficult to find men of greater learning, piety, and spiritual power than Doddridge the hymn-writer, or Dr. Samuel Chandler the Presbyterian, who preached for forty years at the Old Jewry, where was, according to Wilson,

[1] Addl. MSS, Brit. Mus., 32728, f. 278.

"one of the most respectable congregations in London." Poor Chandler, having lost his wife's fortune in the South Sea Bubble, had had to open a bookseller's shop in the Poultry, still retaining his pastoral duties. But he attained great eminence as a religious writer, especially in a work on Miracles in opposition to Collins the Deist. So far back as 1725 he presented Archbishop Wake with a copy of this work. Wake, in a letter of thanks, highly commended the book, by which he said he had been not only "usefully entertained but edified," and knowing the author at the time only as a bookseller, advised him to spend his "time in writing books rather than in selling them."[1] Chandler had been the schoolfellow at Gloucester and Tewkesbury of Bishop Butler and Archbishop Secker, and he retained through his life his friendship with these eminent Churchmen. Mr. Wilson, in his work on the Dissenting Churches, says that Dr. Chandler's "dignified appearance and gentlemanlike deportment, connected with his superior endowments of mind, contributed to give him great weight with the body of Dissenters." Perhaps these qualities, as well as his friendly relations with men high in the Church, made him the representative of Nonconformity in negotiations for Comprehension which took place in 1748, and were favourably regarded by Archbishop Herring. In the letter written to Mr. Pyle on his appointment to Canterbury, from which we have already quoted, Herring says of Chandler :

> "I saw Sam Chandler the other day. I really affect and honour the man, and wish with all my soul that the Church of England had him ; for his spirit and learning are certainly of the first class."

The story of the negotiations is given in Doddridge's *Letters* and Wilson's *Dissenting Churches* as follows :

Chandler being on a visit to friends at Norwich happened to hear Gooch, then Bishop of Norwich,

[1] Wilson's *Dissenting Churches*, ii. 363.

charge his clergy in the cathedral. All England was at the time agog with the Pretender's late landing in Scotland, to which we have so often referred. Gooch charged the leaders of the rebellion with Nonconformist sympathies, and proved it by pointing to the condemned lords in the Tower being attended by Presbyterian confessors. Chandler politely remonstrated with the bishop for this statement. His remonstrance was very civilly replied to, and the result was a friendly meeting of the bishop and Chandler, when Comprehension was discussed. Yet another friendly meeting followed, Sherlock, then Bishop of Salisbury, being also present. "Our Church, Mr. Chandler," said Sherlock, "consists of three parts, doctrine, discipline, and ceremonies; as to the last two he suggested there might be no difficulty, but as to the first, what is your objection?" Chandler wished the Articles to follow more closely scriptural terms, and the Athanasian Creed to be discarded. To neither requirement were the bishops insuperably opposed, but asked what should they do about re-ordination of Nonconformist ministers. Chandler affirmed that none of his brethren would renounce his Presbyterian ordination; "but," said he, "if yr Lordship mean only to impose your hands upon us and by that rite recommend us to public service in your Society or Constitution, that perhaps might be submitted to."[1] The two bishops at the conclusion of the visit requested Chandler to wait on Archbishop Herring, which he did, and met Bishop Gooch there, Wilson says, "by accident." The archbishop met Chandler well, and being told by Bishop Gooch what Mr. Chandler and he had been talking about, namely, a Comprehension, said, "A very good thing"; he wished with all his heart, and the rather because this was a time which called upon all good men to unite against infidelity and immorality, which threatened universal ruin. To Chandler's request to have the Articles in Scripture

[1] Wilson, ii. 373.

words: "Why not?" said Herring. "It is the impertinence of men thrusting their own words into Articles instead of the words of God which have occasioned much of the divisions in the Christian Church from the beginning to this day." The archbishop added "that the bench of bishops seemed to be of his mind; that he shd be glad to see Mr. Chandler again, but was then obliged to go to Court."[1]

We have this account from Mr. John Barker, an eminent divine of the Presbyterian denomination and the bosom friend of Doddridge the hymn-writer, who adds that Chandler incurred the displeasure of some of his Dissenting friends for his conduct in the affair, chiefly, it seems, for having said that he asked for the Articles to be expressed in Scripture language for others, not for himself. Herring naturally gets great praise from Mr. Wilson, the Nonconformist biographer, for his conduct in the affair. The archbishop's "truly Christian principles added greater lustre to his character than the adventitious honours of the world."

In 1752 Dr. Birch published his Life of Archbishop Tillotson and dedicated it to Archbishop Herring, who writes to thank Dr. Birch on the 14th November 1752:

"Dear Sir,—Though you have said a great deal too much of me I must thank you for your book and Dedication too; for I think myself extremely honoured by having my inconsiderable name connected with that of the best of my Predecessors.

"I feel the disparity of the characters, and must submit to the censure which will arise from a comparison so infinitely to my disadvantage; but as posterity when the real object is out of sight may imagine from your picture that there might be some distant shadow of a resemblance, I think I ought to enjoy the contemplation.

"Your Book will certainly be an acceptable present to the Publick, and it is well judged by you to connect with the Archbishop's life some account of his acquaintance and friends. They serve to illustrate his character, receive honour from their relation to him, and to ex-

[1] Hore, ii. 22.

plain the religious and civil history of a very important period of our time; and the domestic enemies of our country (yet subsisting in the same shape) may be ashamed to see their narrow principles exposed, not by reproach or censure, but a narration of plain facts.

"The Master of Lambeth House has good hopes that you have not done with his libraries. Libraries are collected for such folk as you; and the doors of these, and indeed every door in this house, will be at all times open to you."[1]

Herring was by this time settled at Croydon. The old archiepiscopal palace there was very dear to Herring; and well it might be, for no building had associations more interesting to an English Churchman. The tie between Croydon and the archbishops dated at least to the Conquest, for William I. is said to have given the Manor of Croydon to Lanfranc. Mr. Pelton, in his *History of Croydon*, says, "that a house or palace existed at Croydon in 1273 appears from a mandate dated from there by Archbishop Kilwardby," and for nearly 500 years after that the old palace was a principal residence of the Primates. Katherine of Arragon lived there for a time; Queen Elizabeth stayed there; James I. of Scotland was a prisoner there. The buildings which can be seen now comprise the Guard Chamber, the Great Hall with a fine chestnut wood ceiling, the Chapel, and the Long Gallery. Archbishop Arundel erected the Guard Chamber, Archbishop Stafford's escutcheon is on the corbels in the Great Hall—on the knobs of the old benches in the chapel are Laud and Juxon's arms. The river Wandle flowed out near Croydon old church, hard by the palace, and watered its extensive gardens and grounds now covered by rows of streets. Herring at considerable expense repaired the old buildings and laid out the gardens. He seems to have paid especial attention to strengthening the Great Hall and its roof. On a beam may still be seen "T 1748 H"—and fine lead pipes outside marked with his initials bear witness

[1] Nichols' *Illustrations of Literature*, iii. 463.

to his repairing hand. Herring's attachment to the palace is testified by the language he uses in a letter to Dr. Ducarel from Croydon, dated 24th April 1754. "I love this old House," he says, "and was very desirous of amusing myself, if I could find means to do it, with the history of its buildings; for the house is not one, but most certainly an aggregate of buildings of different tastes and ages. . . . You compliment me more than is due to me; for a very great repair was done here by Archbishop Wake, who lived here several summers and has a title to a large share of your commendation."[1]

Besides Dr. Anthony Ellys, who on Herring's recommendation was at the end of 1752 made Bishop of St. David's, an intimate friend of Herring was Dr. John Jortin. Bishop Newton puts Jortin on a level with Warburton, and says: "They were really two very extraordinary men . . . both men of great parts and abilities." He had been at Jesus, Cambridge, with Herring, and though their friendship was interrupted before Jortin came up to London, they renewed their intimacy when Herring became Primate. The archbishop and Bishop Sherlock got him appointed Boyle Lecturer. He preached the consecration sermon when Zachary Pearce, Rector of St. Martin-in-the-Fields, was made Bishop of Bangor, and by Herring's order published it. Herring gave him unsolicited the rectory of St. Dunstan-in-the-East, summoning him, it is said, during a banquet of the Sons of the Clergy, and without any previous notification pulling the presentation out of his pocket.[2] He also gave him in 1755 the degree of D.D. Jortin's best-known works were his *Life of Erasmus* and his *Ecclesiastical History*. Perhaps the preferments Jortin got from Herring makes his judgment of the archbishop not to be overmuch relied on; but in his *Erasmus* he says that

[1] Nichols' *Literary Anecdotes*, ix. 305.
[2] *Ubi supra*, ii. 561.

in the picture of Archbishop Warham drawn by Erasmus he contemplates that of Herring, his late patron, "who," he goes on, "besides the good qualities in which he resembled Warham, had piety without superstition and moderation without manners, an open and liberal way of thinking, and a constant attachment to the cause of sober and rational liberty both civil and religious."[1]

England on many occasions in the eighteenth century championed the cause of suffering Protestants on the Continent, and Herring seems to have been fairly active in this respect.

As far back as October 1749, he reminds Newcastle in a letter that the Minister had asked him when made archbishop, to keep up useful correspondence with the Protestant Churches abroad. The archbishop says that he has done this in general, and recommended the poor Hungarians for relief.[2]

Among the papers of Lewis Majendie, Esq. of Hedingham, is a folio volume containing, under the years 1753 and 1754, letters from Herring to the squire of Hedingham of that day, on the subject of an application by the persecuted and oppressed Hungarians for aid, pecuniary and otherwise.[3]

In a letter, dated the 22nd September 1754, Herring says he has received a representation of their case which he promises to consider, and if necessary to amend: he would ask the Bench of Bishops to help, but they are all in the country, so that nothing effectual can be done for the Hungarians till winter. In December 1754, Herring writes again to Majendie that he is much concerned about the poor Hungarians. "The Bench," he says, "are pressed upon these applications from abroad and many others at home beyond their abilities"; but, later, Herring sends his own and the bishops'

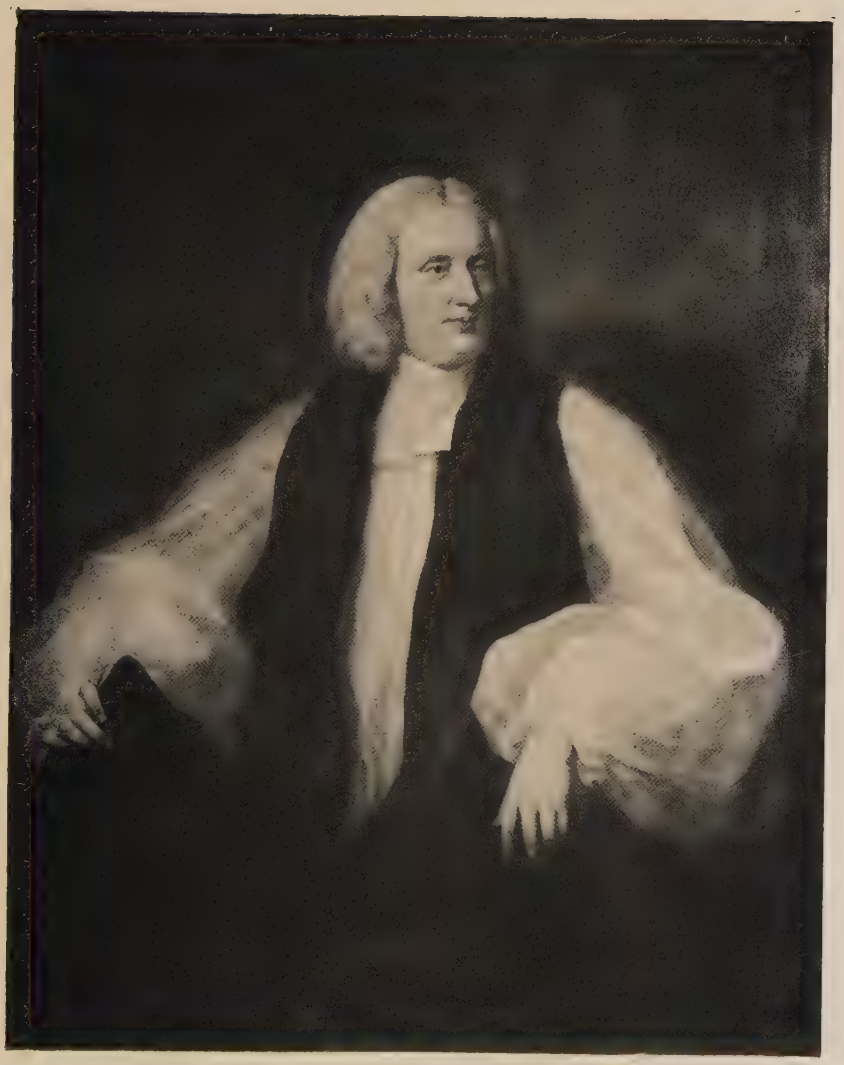
[1] Nichols' *Literary Anecdotes*, ii. 567.
[2] Newcastle Corr., addl. MSS, Brit. Mus., 32719, f. 261.
[3] See *Fifth Report of Historical MSS Comm.*, App. p. 322.

subscriptions and approves collections at Oxford and Cambridge for the suffering University at Debritzen.

In the early summer of 1753, Herring, while at Lambeth, was seized with a violent "pleuretic" fever. He nearly died. He seems to have had a first attack early in May, for on the 13th he writes to Newcastle: "I thank God, the Fever and inflammation are removed." According to the custom of those times, he was violently bled by his medical advisers, one of whom was Dr. Heberden, the celebrated physician of the day—to the extent, it is said, of eighty ounces of blood. But on 1st June he was taken very ill again. Ministers receive a report from the doctors: "We were suddenly sent for this morning on account of a shortness of breath as great as ever. We thought proper to bleed his Grace again 7 ounces." In a week he moves to Croydon, writing to Lord Hardwicke on the 8th: "I go this afternoon to try the experiment of the Surrey air. . . . I am fatigued with drugs, my breath is extremely short." His biographers, however, seem to take too gloomy a view of the effects of this illness on the archbishop. "He recovered, they say, in some measure, yet from that time he might rather be said to languish than to live. He retired to Croydon, declined, as far as possible, all public business, seeing little company but his relations and particular friends."[1] However, as early as the 19th June, one of Lord Hardwicke's sons writes to his brother: "The Archbishop is a vast deal better, and has even been on horseback, and rid on Banstead Down with great pleasure and no inconvenience. He writes in great spirits"; and a few days later the same writer to the same says: "The Archbishop grows better every day, drinks ass's milk, and rides on horseback, and expresses great hopes of his own case. I can tell you nothing that you will be better pleased to hear."

He certainly maintained his correspondence with

[1] *Life of Lord Hardwicke*, ii. 449.



THOMAS HERRING
(From the Portrait by WILLIAM HOGARTH)

[*To face p.* 214

Duncombe, and writes shortly after his arrival at Croydon :

" Blessed be God for it. I have mended in health since my arrival here and continue to mend gradually. In so acute a disorder as mine was, it was not to be expected I cd jump into health (jumping is too much for me), but I ought to be contented and thankful too if I can walk leisurely into it."

Perhaps his weakened health increased Herring's dislike to theological controversy. Five months after his last letter, he writes to Duncombe in reference to a friend of his, one Dr. Carter, a clergyman of St. George's Chapel, Deal, who had been presented the year before by one of his chapel wardens at the instigation of the rector for not reading the Athanasian Creed. The archbishop refers to his improved health, and need of " quiet, the great balm of life," and proceeds : " Your friend Dr. Carter is grievously teased by folks who call themselves the ' orthodox.' I abhor every tendency to the Trinity Controversy. The manner in which it is always managed is the disgrace and ruin of Christianity."

The archbishop's health improved with fluctuations during the summer of 1753. He was a fixture at Croydon, and on 29th July invites Newcastle to dine with him there : " Your Grace shall find *concha salis puri*, a clean tablecloth, good mutton, and " (here Herring allows himself a liberty which a bishop or archbishop of to-day would not feel was open to him) " the best claret I can procure."

By October he was well enough to pay a visit to the Princess Dowager of Wales—whose husband had died in March 1751—and to the King. The only reference the archbishop makes to his health is when he says how the widowed princess did him the honour to walk round the garden and show him the orangerie. " What added to the favour was, she was pleased to go my snail's pace."[1]

[1] Addl. MSS, Brit. Mus., 32732, f. 377.

Still he remains largely an invalid, and writes to Newcastle : " I wish I could say better things of myself than I can. I think my breath has of late grown easier, but have so frequent indisposition in so various shapes that I believe I puzzle my doctors. Wilmot advised me to spend the winter here, but in plain truth I cannot come into publick without being more ruffled and hurried than my present health will bear."

Certainly there was an improvement in the archbishop's health in the course of 1754 ; and we read of a poetical curate of Croydon named Fawkes, in that year publishing " an ode on his recovery."[1] The ode was rewarded by a living, and on Herring's death, the poet, in 1763, printed a " pathetic elegy " on his patron.[2]

On the 6th March 1754, Henry Pelham, the Prime Minister, died. There was serious trouble in carrying on the Government, and especially in selecting a new First Lord of the Treasury. Pelham's brother, the Duke of Newcastle, who had been Secretary of State, was much his inferior, and quarrelsome into the bargain. He did not like Pitt, who had been Pelham's colleague in the Commons. In fact, the whole weight of the Premiership seems for some time to have devolved on Lord Hardwicke, whose idea, as we shall see from the letter next quoted, was to split up the offices Pelham had held, and make some peer First Lord of the Treasury, with a Chancellor of the Exchequer under him in the Commons. Who that Chancellor of the Exchequer was to be was a very difficult question. It certainly raises our opinion of Herring's capacity to find the Lord Chancellor not only writing to him giving full information of the difficult position of affairs, and asking him to send a statement of what he thought ought to be done to be submitted to the " lords of the Cabinet," but also asking for a separate private letter giving the Chancellor the benefit of his own

[1] Addl. MSS, Brit. Mus., 32732, f. 613.
[2] Nichols' *Literary Anecdotes*, iii. 52.

views and sentiments. We cannot forget that the head of the English Church is a great State official whose views on political affairs would at any rate in the middle of the eighteenth century have great weight with the Government as such. But that a man of the capacity of Lord Hardwicke, one of the greatest Chancellors that ever adorned the Woolsack, should ask and seriously rely on (as he evidently did) Herring's advice in a difficult State situation, makes us think Herring must have been a man of bigger and of stronger mental calibre than we should have thought from the record of his conduct whether as bishop or primate.

In his letter to the archbishop, written five days after Pelham's death, Lord Hardwicke says :

" Powis House, 11*th March* 1754,
Monday 8, *at night.*

" My dear Lord,—The late melancholy event has greatly affected us all. . . . I have been forced in the midst of a broken attendance of the Court of Chancery, to be continually running about to the King, and to have meetings with the principal persons in the administration.

. . . . . .

" Your Grace has heard that the first candidate at Court is Mr. Fox."

As a matter of fact, there had been some personalities over Lord Hardwicke's Marriage Act between him and Fox, and they were not friends, but Hardwicke assures the archbishop that he is going " to consider personalities no further than to maintain and save the point of honour. In the several audiences which I have had of the King, His Majesty has declared that he has no favourite for this succession ; but he hopes the Lords of the Cabinet ' would not think of recommending to him anyone who had flown in his face.' " This seems to refer to Pitt. The Chancellor proceeds :

" The opinion, therefore, which I with my friends in the Cabinet have formed, is that there is at present no

person in the House of Commons fit to place entirely in Mr. Pelham's situation with safety to this administration and the Whig party. Upon this they have proceeded to think of advising His Majesty to place some peer at the head of the Treasury with a Chancellor of the Exchequer in the House of Commons under him. . . . He must be one who will carry on the election of the next Parlt upon the same plan on which Mr. Pelham had settled it."

After saying that the best plans seemed to be for the Duke of Newcastle to go to the head of the Treasury, he goes on :

" The Lords of the Cabinet are to meet at my house to-morrow evening at seven o'clock. There is no expecting to see your Grace here at that hour, nor do the Duke of Newcastle or I incline that you shd run any risque. But we both wish to know your sentiments, and humbly hope that your Grace will authorise me to say something in your name."

The archbishop is then invited to write a short letter " by this messenger," recommending the appointment of Newcastle as First Lord of the Treasury, with a Chancellor of the Exchequer in the Commons.

" Besides such an ostensible letter," the Chancellor adds towards the end of his rather lengthy epistle, " I shall be much obliged for a *separate private* letter, to convey any particular sentiments and observations which your Grace shall honour me with. But that must be a separate letter."[1]

The archbishop did as he was requested ; the Cabinet meeting accepted the Lord Chancellor's views, and the latter, according to a Minute of his, " laid before the Lords a letter which he had received that day from the Archbishop of Canterbury acquainting him with his Grace's opinion to the like effect."

Newcastle became Prime Minister—and but a sorry one. He could not at first agree with either Fox or

[1] *Life of Lord Hardwicke*, ii. 514.

Pitt to lead the Commons ; but the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir Thomas Robinson, who was appointed, was a failure, and after a year Fox took the post.

Both Herring and his friend Duncombe shared the dismay of the religious world at the posthumous works of Bolingbroke, and Duncombe had and communicated to the archbishop the idea of attempting some counter-blast in which Cicero was to be called in aid. Herring sensibly insists on the reply, if any, being wise, " knowing," as he says, " that several weak pens are at work upon Bolingbroke. I own," he adds, " I have my fears on this head that more harm may be done than good. . . . This work shd not be trusted to bunglers."

Whatever his views of " the orthodox " Churchmen who complained of the omission of the Athanasian Creed, Herring had and showed the smallest possible sympathy with Whitefield and Wesley and the rising tide of Methodism. The turning-point in the history of Methodism in relation to the Church was not reached till 1760, when the Wesleyan lay preachers got authority to preach and administer the Sacraments in their own chapels. But it was not far off. Herring's views on this subject are best expressed in his own language. In a letter from Croydon House, written little more than a year before his death, he says :

" Whitefield is Daniel Burgess redivivus, and, to be sure, he finds his account in his joco-serious addresses. The other author (John Wesley), in my opinion, with good parts and learning is a most dark and saturnine creature. His pictures may frighten weak people that at the same time are wicked, but I fear he will make few converts, except for a day. I have read his serious thoughts on the earthquakes at Lisbon, but for my own part I think the rising and setting of the sun is a more durable argument for religion than all the extraordinary convulsions of nature put together. . . . For myself I own I have no constitution for these frights and fervours ; and if I can but keep up the

regular practice of a Christian life upon Christian principles I shall be in no pain for futurity. . . . The subjects you mention of the Methodist preaching are excellent in the hands of wise men (not enthusiasts). Religion for the practice of the world must be plain and intelligible to the lowest understanding. . . . As to their notion that men are by nature devils, I can tell it by no other name than wicked and blasphemous, and the highest reproach that man can throw upon his good and wise Creator."

The last years of Archbishop Herring's life were years of great public anxiety. The King's only thought was for the safety of Hanover, and he agreed to treaties giving subsidies to foreign states who would find troops to defend it. The tension between England and France in North America was of the acutest, and Newcastle was not the man to conduct a great war against a great nation.

We get one or two notes on current events in Herring's correspondence with Dr. Nathanael Forster, who had been Domestic Chaplain to the great Bishop Butler, and was his executor, and who was afterwards one of Herring's chaplains.[1]

In the summer of 1755, George II. went abroad to see after and enjoy his beloved Hanover, and at the same time Boscawen sailed with a fleet from Portsmouth with half-hearted instructions to attack the French fleet should it descend on Canada. Hawke was in command of some of Boscawen's ships, and he managed to engage the Frenchmen, capturing the *Alcide* and another French vessel. The British transports got into St. Lawrence. December saw the disastrous defeat at Fort Duquesne of General Braddock—a brave but unintelligent officer who underrated the American levies because their efficiency in drill did not equal that of the Guards in Hyde Park.

In a letter from Croydon House, dated 7th July 1755, Herring says :

[1] Nichols' *Literary Anecdotes*, ix. 294.

"I can send you no news from hence; nor will anything arise, I apprehend, till we hear of Boscawen. Nothing can be wiser than to avoid a war in Europe if possible; and yet it will be an ugly thing if we suffer as James I. used to do by our obdurate patience. They say the French Martinico fleet are returning; and our citizens will grumble if they get safe into port under the cover of our negotiation, while Hawke lies at top and top-gallant at Spithead."

Again, on 21st July, he writes:

"You have seen the particulars of the American skirmish. The issue of it pleases the City and is of credit to us. . . . The cash on board the *Alcide* was under £8000. There were some of their best engineers; and this circumstance and the number of soldiers on board, and men that got into Lewisburgh, may prove a weakening and a present disappointment. The worst is, I doubt, the expedition is at an end: there is reason to think the transports got into St. Lawrence, and our men are rich; but don't tell this to your Jacobites."

A month later, on 3rd August, he writes:

"We are very alert here; and, as the statesmen say, with good reason on the success in Nova Scotia, and if Braddock and his associates do well, and our Bostoneers can have the honesty and resolution to starve the garrison at Lewisburgh, I think Monsieur must keep quiet."

"But no Te Deums before a victory," wisely adds Herring.

There were unusual storms in the fall of 1755; there was great anxiety as to the operations in America against the French with whom we were fast drifting into war; though a small success under Johnson was welcomed as wiping out Braddock's disaster. Pitt was not yet in the saddle, nor Fox, only the Duke of Newcastle, who was unequal to the task.

On 1st November all western Europe was startled

by the earthquake at Lisbon, causing thirty thousand deaths. London was frightened. A "general and public" Fast was ordered by Proclamation issued on the 20th November, which recited the manifold sins and wickedness of these kingdoms had deserved punishments, how the Almighty had protected us "especially at this time when some neighbouring countries have been visited with a most dreadful and extensive earthquake." The Fast was fixed for 6th February.[1] Herring had to prepare a Form of Prayer, and he writes to his chaplain, Forster :

"*7th December* 1755.

"I have thoughts of attending the House on Wednesday, and shall then talk fully with you on the subject of the Fast. In the meantime I beg the favour of you to look out for the Form of Prayer on account of the Great Storm, 1703, and see whether anything of this kind was done when Port Royal at Jamaica sunk into the sea."

The wording of the Form caused anxiety, and he writes twice more to Forster :

"*25th December* 1755.

"The little wits found fault once with *Rock of Defence* coming so near our *Fleets*. Is it worth while to change the words *Rock of* into *never-failing* Defence ? or does any other Scripture expression occur to you to insert instead of *Rock of* ?"

"*27th December* 1755.

"I only meant in my title to specify the reason of the Fast ; and left the Printer in other respects to follow the usual form, which you will be so good as to see to. You will be pleased to make the alteration by the words *never-failing Deliverer*. The Bishop of Lincoln accepts the duty of the Fast Sermon."

This was Dr. John Thomas. The Fast was duly observed. Forster preached before the Court, the Bishop of Lincoln before the Lords, and Terrick before

[1] *Gentleman's Magazine*, xxv. 570.

the Commons. "There were the greatest crowds," says the *Gentleman's Magazine*,[1] "at most of the churches, both in London and Westminster, ever known on any occasion." The Lord Mayor had to send and remonstrate with some Quakers in the city who would keep their offices open.

Lord Mahon says that the Masquerades, which the archbishop had in vain tried to stop, were given up through the panic. Horace Walpole in his worst style says on the 22nd January 1756: "We were to have had a masquerade to-night, but the Bishops, who, you know, have always persisted in God's hating dominoes, have made an Earthquake point of it and postponed it till after the fast."

1756 saw Pitt dismissed because he would not fall in with the King's Hanoverian ideas, and Minorca lost. The archbishop was well enough to give a grand breakfast party at Croydon to the young Prince of Wales, his mother and brother, but about the time he writes to his old friend Hardwicke:

"It is now a real pain to me to walk a few yards, tho' I confine myself to the slow pace of the tortoise in the garden. . . . To your Lordship and all my friends in private I shall be the same, that is, always receiving such cheerful sensations from my correspondence with them as may be supposed to arise in the breast of a most affectionate friend."

The end was approaching, and the archbishop met it with calmness.

On 22nd June 1756 he writes to Duncombe:

"I continue extremely out of order, I think in a confirmed dropsy. . . . I have now been half a year in this dismal way . . . everything I take feeds the distemper for

'Ready oft the port t' obtain,
I'm shipwrecked into life again.'

[1] xxvi. 89.

" I know who sent me hither and how much it is my duty to attend his summons for a removal, but life is over with me ; and I sometimes in my airing repeat two pretty lines of Parnell,

> ' But what are fields or flowers or air to me?
> Ah! tasteless all, if not enjoyed with thee,
> O health.' "

The autumn of 1756 saw the retirement of Newcastle. The war was more than he could manage. Herring consoles him on 18th November : " It is not possible for me to wait upon your Grace. Your Grace has found it necessary to withdraw yourself from public business ; you have seen this nation distracted before and have had your share in preserving it from impending ruin. . . . Your Grace can never lay aside the character of a faithful subject to your King and country."

Herring's patriotism remained unquenched to the last. The latest letter in the Duncombe correspondence relates how a regiment of Hessians, either mercenaries or allies in the Seven Years' War against France which had just begun, under Colonel Canitz, was quartered at Croydon and Bromley. The law at the time—perhaps wisely, we should say—made no provision for quartering foreign troops. But the archbishop would not have them go short ; and so he sent them a " Yorkshire pye," which had been sent as a present to him, and a parcel of wine ; " they should have," said he, " every accommodatn he cd procure them."[1]

There is one more letter to Newcastle, who, though fallen, had all the power his pocket boroughs could give and still dabbled in patronage. The poor archbishop says on 8th March 1757 : " Though my extream illness confines me almost to my bedchamber, I will do all I can to oblige your Ldship."

On 13th March 1757, Herring died. He was aged sixty-four. A scholarly author of the time, Dr.

[1] Addl. MSS, Brit. Mus., 32869, f. 84.

Jortin, the biographer of Erasmus, says : " Few great men passed through this malevolent world better beloved and less censured than he."[1]

By his will he directed that he should be buried in a private manner, and forbade any monument; and accordingly he was buried quietly in the vault of Croydon Church, with a plain black stone and the inscription, " Here lieth the body of the Most Rev. Dr. Thomas Herring, Archbishop of Canterbury, who died Mar. xiii. A.D. MDCCLVII., aged LXIV." Croydon Church was burnt down on 5th January 1867. A tablet on the wall in the N.W. corner of the Southern Chapel of the new Parish Church records that Herring's remains lie buried near.

Compared with his predecessor, Herring died a poor man, his fortune being given in the *Gentleman's Magazine* of the time at £10,000. The same authority says he was very charitable. By his will, beyond his directions against funeral pomp and a monument, Herring made two dispositions of interest. The first, in favour of the great Lord Chancellor to whom he owed perhaps much, is in the following terms: " I beg the favour of the Earl of Hardwicke, my ever honoured friend, to accept my topaz seal engraved by Yeo and the head of Bishop Fleetwood of Ely painted by Richardson." The latter he mentions in a letter written not long after his appointment to Canterbury that he had bought from the artist's son in Queen Square. Bishop Fleetwood had been his early patron.

Herring had always maintained his interest in his old college. The master, Mr. Castle, had been his guest at Bishopthorpe, three of his relations had been fellows; and Heaton, another fellow of the college, was one of his domestic chaplains at Lambeth, and rewarded by the archbishop after the manner of those days with a rectory, a vicarage, a prebend, and a mastership of a hospital. By his will the archbishop

[1] Addl. MSS, Brit. Mus., 32870, f. 249.

left £1000 to the Sons of the Clergy Corporation, and to his old College at Cambridge, £1000. South Sea annuities towards rebuilding the college, with a provision that should there be no prospect of rebuilding the college after the lapse of a competent number of years, the income was to be applied to the necessary repairs of "the old house," or in acts of charity as helping poor scholars or honest servants, of which the master was to give an account "not subject to control" at every usual audit.

For his servants, by whom, we are told, he was "carefully obeyed and cordially lamented," he made a handsome provision by his will. He did not fail in his archiepiscopal charities. In his time the "dole" regularly given at Lambeth was distributable at the gate of Croydon Palace. The dole was given to thirty poor people three times a week to ten persons at a time, each receiving 2 lb. weight of beef, a pitcher of broth, a half-quartern loaf, and twopence in money. Herring was never married. An amusing story is told of him in this connection. During his severe illness in 1753, Count Zinzendorff, the leader of the sect of the Moravians then active in England, and with whom John Wesley from 1738 to 1740 was in close alliance, wrote to the archbishop a letter in which he not only wished him a perfect recovery, but tendered him ghostly absolution, notwithstanding the "great sin of omission" of which he had been guilty. This letter the archbishop showed to a friend, professing that though doubtless guilty of many sins of omission as well as commission he had no idea of the particular sin the Count referred to. "Your Grace, I perceive," replied the friend, "is not much acquainted with the tenets of the Moravians; if you were, my lord, you must have known that with them the great sin of omission is celibacy. Your Grace is a bachelor."

Herring's views on publishing sermons we have given. He adhered to them. In his last illness, in

what his friend Duncombe calls "a languid moment," he destroyed all his MSS, sermons, etc. In 1763, Duncombe collected and published in one volume the *Seven Sermons on Public Occasions*, which had been printed (all but two by command) by the archbishop in his lifetime. But one of his three nephews writes after his death to Dr. Ducarel, who was contemplating publishing some *Memoirs* of the archbishop:[1]

"As to printing a thing of this kind, or anything else relating to him, or even reprinting his sermons, it would be so expressly contrary to his injunctions and dying request to us that I am persuaded no true friend of his Grace's when informed of it would desire to do it."

He thinks, however, that what Ducarel proposes would not be objected to by the family.

In appearance Herring is described by his friend Bishop Squire of St. David's as tall and comely in person. He sat to Hogarth for his picture, but the result was thought by his friends much too severe. So far from the *os placidum moresque benigni* characteristic of Herring, the picture rather depicted features expressive of a Bonner who could burn a heretic.

"Lovat's hard features Hogarth might command,
A Herring's sweetness asks a Reynolds' hand."

Throughout life he had delicate health and a tendency to asthma, which made him prefer to sleep out of London. He suffered from the age of twenty from "disagreeable palpitations," for which he prescribed himself "exercise (riding) and good company." Much of his delicacy he attributed to his being put to sleep in damp sheets when at college.

To those who asked him for preferment, his kindness of manner is said to have aided the anxiety of the petitioner and removed his suspense as soon as possible.

[1] Nichols' *Literary Anecdotes*, ix. 312.

Bishop Squire was indebted to Herring for promotion. Squire had been chaplain and private secretary to the Duke of Newcastle as Chancellor of the University of Cambridge in 1749,[1] and in the following year Archbishop Herring gave him the Rectory of St. Anne's, Westminster. The transaction had a truly eighteenth-century flavour; for Herring had the presentation as an "option" from the Bishopric of London, and Squire gave up the living of Topsfield in Essex in favour of a relation of the archbishop. Squire attained eminence both as an author and cleric, and was made Bishop of St. David's in 1761, but his character of Herring is too unctuous and fulsome to be of much use to a biographer. It may be found in Nichols' *Literary Anecdotes*, ii. 357. We give a few extracts from it:

"His distinguished application to the business of his function, his learning, his warm attachment to the Constitution in Church and State, and his pathetic eloquence in the pulpit having recommended him to the early notice of the great; he ever afterwards maintained himself in the possession of their favour, esteem, and affection by his ingenuous conversation and by his singular candour, temper, and moderation. . . .

"So kind and obliging was his Grace's manner in conferring favours that it added a double pleasure to the receiver. He felt the anxiety of the doubtful petitioner and removed his suspense as soon as possible; and when forced to deny a request he always seasoned the refusal with every circumstance of benevolence which might render the disappointment less grievous.

"Conscious of the uprightness of his own heart, and of the sincerity of his belief of the doctrine and precepts of the Gospel, he was willing to think the best of other people's principles and to live the friend of mankind."

With the estates of his sees he is said to have dealt handsomely. He improved the gardens at Bishopthorpe and gave a new clock to the turret. He restored the archbishop's house at Croydon, and beautified

[1] Nichols' *Literary Anecdotes*, ii. 348.

the gardens, laying out altogether between £6000 and £7000 on the houses at Lambeth and Croydon. His work at Lambeth included alterations in the little or inner cloisters—part of the magnum claustrum and parvum claustrum mentioned in the steward at Lambeth's accounts for 1224 and 1443. These lay on the north side of the chapel supported by twelve pillars, and were taken down by order of Herring. It had been called the burying-ground. Herring had it dug and the weeds removed, but no bones were found.

MATTHEW HUTTON

1757–1758

Matthew Hutton, Herring's successor at Canterbury, enjoys the unique distinction of having, as Archbishop of York, been the lineal descendant of another Matthew Hutton, Archbishop of York, one hundred and fifty years before.

The archbishop's father was the great-great-grandson of the archbishop of Queen Elizabeth's days ; and the family seems to have been settled at Marske for a considerable part of the time. Marske is about four miles from Richmond, and there is in Richmond Church a monument with a long inscription and figures of Sir Timothy Hutton and his lady and their twelve children. Sir Timothy was son of the first archbishop.

Matthew Hutton the second was born at Marske in Yorkshire on 3rd January 1693, being the second son of John Hutton of Marske, his mother being Dorothy, daughter of William Dyche or Dyke of Trant, in Sussex. When eight years old he was sent to school at Kirby Hill near Richmond, the master of which was Mr. Loyd of Jesus College, Cambridge, and on the latter being moved in 1704 to Ripon, Hutton followed him to the Free School there, where he remained till 1710. On 22nd June 1710, Hutton was admitted to his master's college, Jesus, at Cambridge, where he took his B.A. degree in 1713, and was ordained deacon by Bishop Fleetwood of Ely.

The Duke of Somerset was at the time Chancellor of the University ; and Hutton seems to have attracted

the favourable attention of the Chancellor, for the latter having appointed one of his chaplains, Dr. Grigg, Master of Clare—the appointment falling to the Chancellor through default of the fellows to elect—His Grace filled up his own chaplaincy by appointing Hutton to that office. He was elected Fellow of Christ's on 8th July 1717, and in that year proceeded M.A. He was again Grigg's successor, for, on Grigg's death in 1726, the Duke of Somerset appointed Hutton to the Rectory of Trowbridge in Wiltshire, which Grigg had held. Having taken his D.D. in 1728, he was the next year further advanced, being presented by his patron to the valuable living of Spofforth in Yorkshire. He was also appointed a Prebend of York by Archbishop Blackburn. He was afterwards appointed one of the King's Chaplains in Ordinary, and as such attended George II. on his visit to Hanover in 1736. He seems to have ingratiated himself with the King, for in 1737 he was made Canon of Windsor, which he exchanged a year later for a prebend of Westminster, vacant by the resignation or flight of R. Thistlethwaite.

Hutton seems now to have begun his series of successions to Herring. While Prebend of Westminster he bestirred himself to get preferment, at least we judge so from his language in a letter written when he was trying for and seemed unlikely to get a bishopric that was vacant, and talks of "meeting with another disappointment." In March 1743 Bangor was or was likely to be vacant through Herring's promotion to York. Newcastle was Hutton's friend and was an arch-dispenser of ecclesiastical patronage: with smaller ecclesiastical places he could do pretty much as he liked, but bishoprics on most, if not all, occasions were for the monarch to give away. Hutton had, as we have said, attended the King as his chaplain on a visit to Hanover, and ought to have been sure of no hitch with his royal master. We are surprised, therefore,

to find Newcastle writing to Hutton under date 30th March 1743 :

" I this day recommended you to the King in the best and most earnest manner I was able, but to my great surprise received such an answer from His Majesty to my application that makes it highly improper for me to mention it to him again." [1]

The Minister advises Hutton to wait upon the archbishop and lay " the unprecedented hardship " of his case before him, and desire his Grace's interposition with His Majesty in his favour.

Next day Hutton writes back referring, as we have said, to the chance of " another disappointment," and saying that he is going to get Newcastle's " very kind recommendation seconded by the Archbishop." [2] But George II. seems at this time to have been indifferent, if not hostile, to Hutton's claim to go to Bangor, and not to have recognised " the unprecedented hardship " of his case, whatever that may have been. For on the 7th April the Archbishop writes to Newcastle : " I acquainted Mr. Pelham that I had again moved for Dr. Hutton without much effect. Your Grace may still find better success." [3]

In the end all difficulties were overcome, and by the end of the year Hutton was Bishop of Bangor, being consecrated in Lambeth Palace, 13th November 1743, by commission from Archbishop Potter, then indisposed, directed to the Bishops of Rochester, Exeter, Worcester, and Bristol. Upon his elevation to the Episcopate, he resigned his stall at Westminster.

Horace Walpole in his *Memoirs*, speaking of Hutton a few years later, describes him as " well bred and devoted to the Ministry." He was a friend of the Duke of Newcastle, and to this friendship and to his being a whole-hearted Ministers' man he probably owed his further preferment.

[1] Newcastle Corr., addl. MSS, Brit. Mus., 32700, f. 87.
[2] *Ubi supra*, f. 91. [3] *Ubi supra*, f. 100.

But in 1747, when Herring went to Canterbury, Hutton succeeded him at York, being confirmed Archbishop of York, 10th December 1747, in the Parish Church of St. Martin-in-the-Fields. It would appear from Herring's correspondence with Lord Hardwicke, that if Herring had allowed his reluctance to take the primacy to overcome his desire to please his patron, Hutton would have gone to Canterbury in his place in 1747. The Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748 brought the war of the Austrian Succession to an end. Prussia got Silesia; otherwise the great Powers stood much as they had been before the war. The Peace was popular, as so often, in England. Hutton's early experiences as Archbishop of York are described in the following letter to Newcastle under date the 28th May 1748:

"After passing through the largest part of my diocese, finding nothing disagreeable in my task or the people with whom I have to do, and resting two or three days in a very pleasant dwelling, I should be ungrateful not to thank you in being the instrument of placing me in so happy a situation."[1]

He says he found "at six considerable towns" he had already visited "everything easy and the clergy in good temper. The prospect of peace is everywhere agreeable, and he heard it nowhere spoken against except at Wakefield. They had had a glorious trade for their cloth during the last years of the war and did not like losing it."

George II. had by this time quite forgotten anything like disfavour to Hutton, and Newcastle, writing to communicate to him the episcopal changes consequent on Bishop Gibson's death, says that the King of himself intended to make Hutton Almoner. "It is a troublesome office," says Newcastle, "the manner of the King's doing it arising singly from himself show'd to

[1] Newcastle Corr., addl. MSS, Brit. Mus., 32715, f. 126.

me so true a regard for your Grace that it has given me great pleasure." [1]

Hutton was undoubtedly on very friendly terms with the Duke of Newcastle. There is an interesting, almost amusing, letter from the newly appointed archbishop to the Minister, who asked for the preferment of a gentleman of good family whom Ministers wanted to please. "An objection," says the archbishop, "occurs to me which I cannot get over. How can it be expected that I shd lay myself under a promise to give one of the best prebends in my Church to an entire stranger unconnected with me or my diocese, already provided of a prebend of Chester with other preferment and a pretty good temporal estate,—son-in-law to a bishop who has as many prebends to dispose of in the church of Litchfield as I have at York. Can it be thought reasonable that I shd give the preference to this gentleman before every one of my own chaplains, friends, and relations, and baulk the expectation of some of the Principal Gentlemen and friends of the Government in Yorkshire with whom I have lived in esteem from my infancy?" [2]

True to Horace Walpole's character of him as "devoted to the Ministry" of Pelham and Newcastle, Hutton writes to the latter on 11th July 1750:

"Nothing has occurred in this country worthy of your Grace's notice unless it be that everything goes well. The gentlemen seem to be in general harmony with one another; and the flourishing state of the woollen trade makes them support the Government."

George II. had recovered from an attack of the gout; Hutton sympathises. After rejoicing at the King's good health, he adds: "If I may judge by myself a gentle fit of gout in the foot will be a probable means of making it more perfect." [3]

[1] Newcastle Corr., addl. MSS, Brit. Mus., 32717, f. 233.
[2] *Ubi supra*, 32718, f. 35. [3] *Ubi supra*, 32721, f. 307.

As he had followed Herring in his other promotions, he was named his successor at Canterbury, being confirmed Archbishop of Canterbury at St. Mary-le-Bow on 29th April 1757. Horace Walpole gives no details of the selection of Hutton as successor to Herring, his only comment being that the latter was "succeeded by Hutton, Archbishop of York, a finer gentleman, except where money was concerned."

But the Newcastle correspondence seems to make it clear that it was Newcastle who was responsible for the choice of a new Primate, though in form another nominated him. Newcastle had, in fact, resigned the Prime Ministership in the autumn of 1756, but, as we have said, retained his voice in the disposal of patronage. It is probable, too, that during Herring's last illness, Hutton had to some extent filled the Primate's place. As far back as October 1753, Herring writes to Newcastle that with none of the bishops could Ministers communicate during the Primate's absence "with so much propriety and safety as with the Archbishop of York," saying that "in matters of debate which relate to public affairs" the Archbishop of York "has great judgment and equal integrity."[1] Again, in the spring of 1755, when affairs in America were very strained between England and France, and the Government tried to rouse the S.P.G. missionaries in America to exert themselves on behalf of George II.'s government, we find it is the Archbishop of York who encloses to Newcastle a copy of the very strongly worded instructions to their missionaries which a Special Committee of the S.P.G. had prepared. These spoke of the French as "wicked and barbarous aggressors," compassing the "compleat ruin of all the British settlements" and "to change the happy condition of our American fellow-subjects under the best of Kings for certain tyranny, wretched superstition, and Popish idolatry." In the absence of a formidable competitor these things

[1] Addl. MSS, Brit. Mus., 32733, f. 162.

may have indicated Hutton as the man to go to Canterbury. At any rate, we find Newcastle writes to him on the 24th March 1757. "His Majesty," says the Minister, "has been pleased that day to order the Duke of Devonshire to propose to your Grace the translation to Lambeth, which I conclude from what your Grace had said to me on that subject, your Grace has accepted." He goes on to claim the real credit of the appointment, speaks of "the constant and uninterrupted regard I have endeavoured to show your Grace," and also of "what your Grace knows pass'd with his Majesty just before I left his service."[1]

Hutton's reply, fulsome as it is, certainly treats Newcastle as the author of his advancement. He speaks of "his gratitude to one who brought me into the view of the world and has led me by the Hand to what I am now arrived at." "I am," he says, "a little diffident of myself how far I may be able to answer expectation in this new Promotion; but shall endeavour to make good the defect of abilities by a strict and steady attention to the interests of Religion, of the Publick, and of my real Friends." Hutton was afterwards elected President of the Corporation of the Sons of the Clergy and of the S.P.G.; a Governor of the Charter House, and sworn of the Privy Council. He confirmed Gilbert, Bishop of Salisbury, on his appointment as Archbishop of York, and in September of the same year consecrated at Lambeth Terrick, Bishop of Peterborough.

Hutton had a dispute with Herring's executors about the dilapidations at Lambeth Palace; and in consequence of this never went into residence there. He lived, however, for two or three months in the summer at Croydon Palace, and when in town lived at his own house in Duke Street, Westminster.

The latter part of 1757 found Britain with trouble on every hand. Dearth of corn to feed the masses of the people led to riots: the Seven Years' War with

[1] Addl. MSS, Brit. Mus., 32870, f. 327.

France—or rather with all the continental Powers except Russia—had begun, and badly with the defeat of Cumberland at Hastenbeck: invasion was feared, and Hessians and Hanoverians poured into England to avert it. Happily the elder Pitt was again in office jointly with Newcastle. The archbishop rightly thought National Humiliation fitting, and writes to Newcastle on 22nd November 1757: "My business was to know chiefly yr Grace's commands as to a Public Fast, which, if there be no material objection, seems to be a necessary duty."[1]

Hutton's tenure of the primacy was very brief, lasting less than a year. And the end seems to have been unexpected, coming in the midst of his ordinary avocations as Primate.

In the session that began in December 1757 under the Newcastle-Pitt coalition, two of the principal measures brought forward were a Navy Bill and an Act to amend the Habeas Corpus Act. They were both good measures. As regards the former the law as it then stood was based on the rule that no good work, perhaps no work at all, could be got out of a sailor while he had any money in his pocket. Of the purposes for which Parliament voted money for the Navy, paying the seamen was the last fulfilled. His pay was always in arrear. Mr. Grenville, on the 24th January 1758, introduced a Bill establishing a regular method for the punctual, speedy, and certain payment of the seamen's wages, and for enabling them more easily and readily to remit the same for the support of their wives and families.

The Habeas Corpus Act of Charles II. applied only to persons under detention for an alleged criminal offence. A husband might lock up his wife in a room in his house; angry relatives might confine a troublesome old man or old woman without any proper Lunacy authority sanctioning the detention. It was proposed to apply the Protection of Habeas Corpus to persons

[1] Addl. MSS. Brit. Mus., f. 329.

other than those arrested on criminal charges, and to extend the power to order the writ in vacation.

The House of Commons was under Pitt's leadership, though he seems to have been busier with the war than with legislation. However, the two Bills passed the Commons. Horace Walpole says: "A Navy Bill of Mr. Geo. Grenville rejected last year by the Lords and passed again by us has by Mr. Fox's underhand management been made an affair by the Lords; yet it will pass. The extension of the Habeas Corpus of forty times the consequence is impeded by the same dealings and is not likely to have so prosperous an issue."[1] The Lords did not much favour the Bills; certainly Newcastle and Hardwicke did not like the suggested amendment of the Habeas Corpus or the way Pratt had brought it in.

On Saturday, the 11th March 1758, Newcastle sends a memo to the archbishop. "I lay before your Grace," he says, "Lord Hardwicke's sentiments and my own upon the conduct we should hold upon the Bill now depending for payment of seamen's wages." After saying they would not have any change in Habeas Corpus, he goes on: "If your Grace does us the honour to agree with us in our opinion, I should submit it to your Grace whether it might not be proper for you to give notice to the bishops, such, I mean, as your Grace usually sends to, to attend the House on Thursday next when the Navy Bill comes on. Let your Friends upon the Bench know your thoughts upon the two Bills—Navy Bill and Habeas Corpus."[2]

Hutton had had two attacks of the gout in the course of the winter, but is said to have been for some time before his death remarkably well. He duly obeyed Ministers' directions about attending Parliament. On the 16th March 1758 he heard a sermon before the Governors of the London Hospital, from thence he went

[1] *Letters by Toynbee*, iv. 128.
[2] Addl. MSS, Brit. Mus., 32878, f. 177.

to the House of Lords, where he stayed till nearly nine. He supped heartily and rested well, and went the next day, Friday, 17th March, to the House of Lords, where he stayed till past eight at night. Hardwicke, from his letter quoted in Secker's Life, thought his fatal illness was not unconnected with his zeal in Parliament. The Navy Bill was debated on the Thursday and Friday. It was ultimately passed after the Lords had summoned some of the Commons and examined them as experts on its provisions. The Habeas Corpus Bill was not discussed till May in the Lords, when it was thrown out, the Judges being instructed to prepare a Bill on the subject for next Session. When the archbishop retired on the Friday evening he complained of being fatigued. The next morning early he was taken extremely ill with an inflammation of the bowels, occasioned most probably by an old rupture from which he had long suffered. All possible methods were used to save his life ; but he grew worse in the evening, and continued so all the next day till towards ten on Sunday night, when he expired at his house, Duke Street, Westminster.

He had always wished to be buried quietly either at Croydon or Lambeth, and his widow and two daughters, whom he appointed his executrices, caused his body to be brought to Lambeth Palace, and he was buried privately in the Chancel of Lambeth Church on Easter Monday, 27th March, in the evening between nine and ten. He lies in a vault near the altar, with the following inscription on a marble stone :

H S E
Reverendissimus in Christo Pater
MATTHOEUS HUTTON S T P
Cantuariensis Archiepiscopus
Ob 19 Mart. A D 1758
OEtat 65.

A handsome monument of a pyramidal form in

white and veined marble, with a large urn at the top, is thus inscribed :

Infra conduntur reliquioe
MATTHAEI HUTTON S T P
Episcopi Bangoriensis A D 1743
Deinde Archiepiscopi Eboracensis 1747
tandem Cantuariensis 1757
qui obiit 19 Martii A D 1758
oetat 65
Et Marioe uxoris ejus
quoe obiit 13 Maii A D 1779
oetatis suoe 86
duabus relictis filiis
quoe pietatis ergo monumentum
hoc utrique Parenti posuerunt
A D 1781.

Hutton's mother came from Sussex, and he sought his wife from the same county, he having married, in 1732 while Rector of Spofforth, Mary, daughter of Mr. Lutman of Petworth, by whom he left, as the monument records, two daughters.

His widow, according to the monument, survived him nearly twenty years.

Hutton's Primacy was of course so brief that this alone would have prevented him making a great mark as archbishop. The Wesleys were stirring, but, apart from them, Church and State were in George the Second's closing years somewhat torpid. Horace Walpole writes to Sir Horace Mann on the 21st March 1758 : " Our new Archbishop died yesterday ; but the Church loses its head with as little noise as a question is now carried or lost in Parliament."[1] Two days later he writes to his friend Charles Lyttelton, then Dean of Exeter, an ancestor of the distinguished family of Lyttelton of to-day, and a great antiquary :

" Well, there is another archbishop dead. Will none of their deaths operate to your Deanery. It is believed that St. Durham goes to Canterbury, and St. Asaph to follow him. I don't fancy St. Asaph for you."

[1] *Letters*, iv. 128.

Walpole's prognostications were wrong. Secker, as we know, went from Oxford to Canterbury. The Hon. Robert Drummond went three years later to York.[1] Lyttelton himself was made Bishop of Carlisle in 1761.

About half a dozen of Hutton's sermons were published. One preached before the House of Commons on 30th January 1741, while he was Prebendary of Westminster and Royal Chaplain; one preached before the Lord Mayor and governors of the hospitals of the City of London at Easter, 1744; one in aid of promoting English Protestant working schools in Ireland, at St. Mary-le-Bow on the 28th March 1745; two before the House of Lords in 1744 and 1746, and one before the S.P.G. in 1746. All these last were preached while he was Bishop of Bangor. Dr. Andrew Coltee Ducarel, who, at the request of the archbishop's brother, John Hutton of Marske, compiled some incomplete memoirs of the archbishop, seems from Nichols' *Illustrations of Literature*, iii. 466, to have been responsible for the following statement: "This great prelate had a very extensive knowledge of men and things, was endowed with very quick parts, and blessed with a tenacious memory. He was an excellent scholar, whose learning was well digested, and a polite and elegant writer." Ducarel with becoming deference declines to add to his memoir any character of his Grace. He says that his picture may give posterity some idea of his person, but would never be able to convey with it either the sweetness of his countenance or his many excellent qualities. "His abilities were," he says, "very great and known to be so," and he adds, "I believe few of his predecessors were better qualified for the high and important stations to which it pleased Providence to advance him." He adopts the account of the archbishop from the *Gazette* of 21st March 1758 as being strictly true in all respects: "He is a gentleman of

[1] Nichols' *Illustrations of Literature*, iii. 313.

sound learning, clear understanding, of great humanity and politeness and easy access to all who had any occasion to apply to his Grace either on business or advice, and his loss is most regretted by those who knew him best."

We have another and fuller description of Archbishop Hutton by Dr. Thomas Wray in a letter to Dr. Ducarel, dated the 2nd September 1758. Hutton had been Wray's patron, having appointed him his chaplain. The portrait is for this reason, like the characters we have already given, not very analytical and profusely laudatory, reading almost like a modern testimonial.[1]

"As you desire my sentiments of the late archbishop, and I cannot well defer any longer sending them, I shall give you them now, though I could wish to have had a little more leisure for recollection. During the time I had the honour to be in his Grace's family, which was about a year and a half, the amiable qualities and accomplishments that rendered him the agreeable companion in so extraordinary a manner and enabled him to appear with so much advantage abroad in all companies, showed themselves also at home where his behaviour was always polite and gentlemanlike. Though he was always very cheerful, chatty, and facetious, he had a particular regard for decorum; he never forgot the τὸ πρέπον; he never let himself down below the dignity of the Archbishop. I need not tell you that he was very happy in being able to attract your love and esteem while he was commanding reverence. He was happy also in enjoying a regular and constant flow of spirits notwithstanding the infirmities of his constitution—so constant a one that I have heard him say that he could not recollect the time when he wanted any. He was an affectionate husband, a very tender-hearted parent, and a kind master. How sincere he was in his professions of friendship those that he admitted to any degree of intimacy will declare. It will be needless to mention that he wanted not abilities to make a considerable figure in the high station he filled, when his health would permit him to exert them; that he was very ready in the despatch of business; that, as I fancy

[1] Nichols' *Illustrations of Literature*, iii. 473.

none of his predecessors excelled him in a graceful and majestic mien, few had a clearer head or could communicate their thoughts with more readiness or greater perspicuity. He had a very extensive knowledge of men and things, and his knowledge of books was very well digested. He was a person of very quick parts and had a tenacious memory.

"His being a little *ad rem attentior*, I attribute entirely to his having a family, as I have not heard that he ever discovered such a turn in his younger days; and I believe he was above doing anything little, mean, or dirty."

The chaplain's account of his patron, flattering as we should expect it to be, gives us one or two hints from which we can make our picture of the archbishop better. There is certainly some delicacy of health, since this is twice mentioned in the letter. Some overcarefulness about money there must have been, or Wray would not have called him a little *ad rem attentior*; and as Hutton's family consisted only of two daughters, the chaplain's excuse for this failing seems hardly made out.

Archbishop Hutton came of a good old Yorkshire family, and he had at least one ancestor, his namesake and predecessor in the See of York, to be proud of, and he was careful, like other archbishops, of his family and pedigree. Dr. Ducarel had shortly before the archbishop's death completed a pedigree of the Huttons of Marske, and had received certain corrections in it, as he says, from Hutton's own mouth. The archbishop and his brother thought that their archiepiscopal ancestor or his family should be cleared from an aspersion thrown by Dr. Drake in his *Lives of the Archbishops of York*. The work was continued by Dr. Ducarel, after our archbishop's death, for his brother.

But little of Hutton's correspondence has been preserved; not enough, nor was his tenure of the Primacy enough to give us a real insight into his character and personality. Two or three letters to Ducarel are preserved in Nichols' *Illustrations of*

Literature. These show him to have been interested in and a careful guardian of the Lambeth Library.

"CROYDON HOUSE, 28*th August* 1757.

"SIR,—I am glad to hear that the Register Books of this see are removed and placed to yr mind in the Library. It will be an additional pleasure to hear you have succeeded in your application to St. John's College for Laud's Diary. If the President perseveres in his silence, the best advice I can think of will be to get some friend to wait on him to know whether your letter was received ; whether he acknowledges the possession of the Diary ; and if so, to signify to the President and the College that the Archbishop would take it for a singular favour if they would allow it to be replaced in the Library at Lambeth, to which it appears formerly to have belonged. We shall know by the answers what further step it may be prudent to take in order to recover the MSS.—I am your affecte friend and servant,

"MATT. CANTUAR."

"CROYDON, 30*th September* 1757.

"SIR,—My thanks are due to you for two Letters and for the two volumes of the Indices and Archbishop's Registers, etc., which came safe to me yesterday.

"I very seldom dine from home on a Sunday ; and if on Sunday next about two o'clock you will give me your company it will be very acceptable to,—Your affectionate friend and servant,

"MATT. CANTUAR."

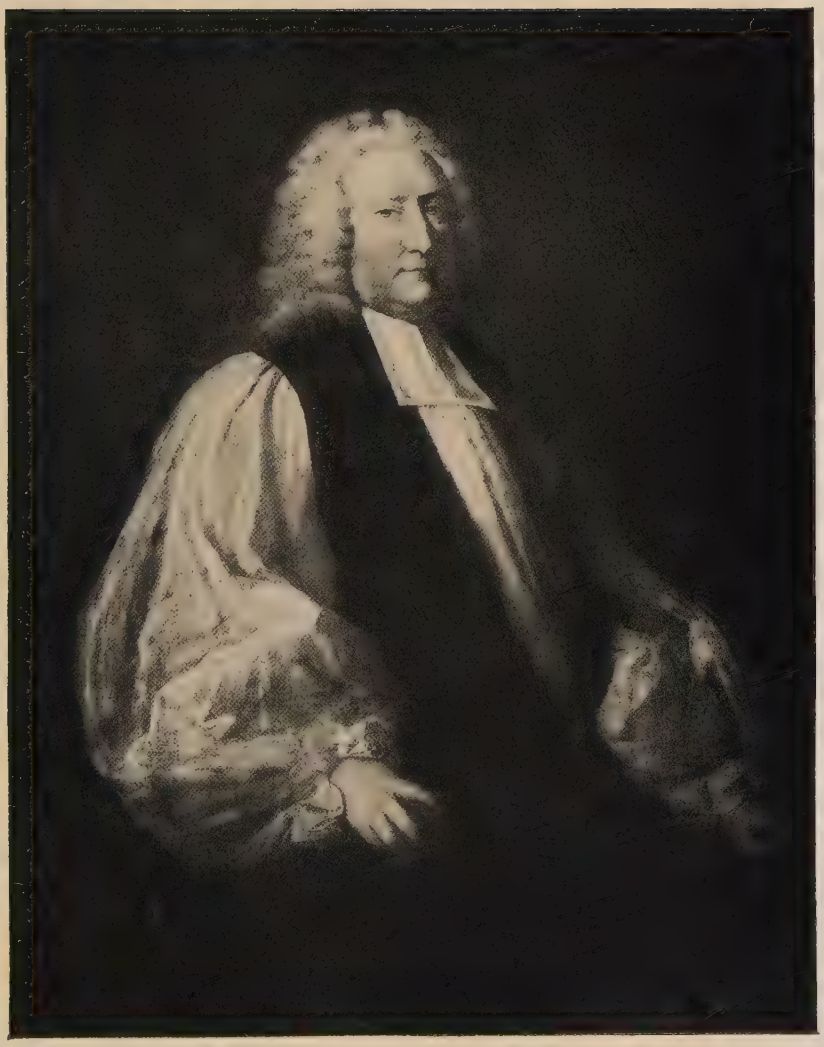
Judging from the Parliamentary Reports, Hutton was entirely without ambitions as a Parliamentary orator. He had little opportunity during his one year as Primate ; and as Archbishop of York he was silent in the House of Lords, even when Canterbury was away through illness. When in 1754 Ministers wished to repeal the Jews Naturalisation Act they had passed the year before, and sought help from the Episcopal Bench in doing so, it was Secker, as we shall see, who seconded the ministerial motion for the Repealing Bill.

Hutton is generally stated to have been Latitudin-

arian in his opinions. Politically he was without doubt a Whig, free from any taint of Jacobitism, a convinced upholder of the Protestant succession—with no sympathy with the principles of divine right or passive obedience—the friend of Lord Hardwicke, of Pelham, and of Newcastle, the opponent of the Non-jurors in England as well as in Scotland.

Hutton's patronage of Blackburne, whom he, while at York, appointed to act as one of his chaplains, and whom he afterwards made Archdeacon of Cleveland and Prebendary of Bilton in York, is one of the best available pieces of evidence of his Church views. Blackburne was throughout the middle of the eighteenth century a leader of what would now be called the extreme Broad Church Party. He was educated at Catharine Hall, Cambridge, but owing to his political principles could not get a foundation fellowship at his college, and went to reside in Yorkshire. He was a native of Richmond in that county, and, as Hutton's family lived at Marske only a few miles off, the future archbishop knew him personally and his character with his neighbours. Blackburne was also recommended to Hutton while Bishop of Bangor by his friend John Yorke. By the time Herring's primacy closed, somewhat of a change had come over English Church Latitudinarianism. The first half of the eighteenth century had seen the era of Clarke, Rector of St. James', and the eccentric Whiston. Clarke was a favourite of Queen Caroline, and was a man of high principle, but he had been unsettled in his views about the Divine nature, and particularly about the doctrine of the Trinity. He had in 1719 published a Reformed Common Prayer Book, in which he had altered the Doxology to an Arian form. Against this Robinson, Bishop of London, had solemnly protested, though even the S.P.C.K. seems to have patronised unsuspiciously some of the Clarke publications. There seem, in fact, to have been three main heads or points in the Broad Churchmanship

of the day: (1) Latitude in interpretation of the Church's formularies. This was the basis of what was known as Arian subscription. "A man," said Clarke, "could honestly use the formula of the Prayer Book and yet hold Arian or semi-Arian opinions as to the nature of our Lord." (2) Alteration of the Church's formularies. The work on *Spirit*, brought out in 1750 by Clayton, Bishop of Clogher, though written by a young clergyman of his diocese, advocated revision of the Prayer Book with its doctrinal statements as to the Trinity, and in 1756 Clayton moved in the Irish House of Lords the omission of the Nicene and Athanasian Creeds. (3) Freedom of the clergy from subscription. It was on the first point that Clarke was strongest; every person, said he, might reasonably agree to forms imposed by Protestant communions whenever he can in any sense at all reconcile them with Scripture. Clarke died in 1729, and Waterland in 1740. Five or six years later came the new phase; in 1746, Jones of Alconbury, a well-meaning man and no heretic, published his Free and Candid Disquisitions relating to the Church of England—a collection of essays suggesting reforms in the Church of England. It was this book which first led Blackburne to publish any controversial work. By the advice of Dr. E. Law, afterwards Bishop of Carlisle, a man of sound piety, Jones submitted his MSS to Blackburne, who was a friend of Law. But it did not go far enough for Blackburne, who thought it too milky, and wished those in power in the Church to be addressed more sharply and sternly. Jones, however, met with many antagonists among the Higher Churchmen, principal among which was one Bosworth, who published remarks on the Disquisitions; as an answer to Bosworth, Blackburne took the field with an "apology" for them. In July 1750, Hutton gave Blackburne his archdeaconry and prebend. Blackburne asserted that Hutton knew his opinions, that when he went to Bishopthorpe to be collated to the archdeaconry, and was



MATTHEW HUTTON

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shown into the chaplain's room, the first thing he saw lying on the table was his *Apology*, and says that he was not a "stranger to the Archbishop's liberal notions on ecclesiastical affairs." Blackburne himself felt difficulty about strained or unnatural subscription, and thought the condition and work of the clergy would be improved by their being freed from subscription, and if some alterations in the formularies were made. In 1754 he published a letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury, in which he finds much fault with the clergy. It consists, excepting a very inconsiderable number, of "men whose lives and ordinary occupations are most foreign to their profession." There is the ignorant herd of poor curates and "the most ignorant common people that are in any Protestant, if not in any Christian, society." He continued his activity; his sermon on Christmas Day, 1753, raising further objections to such things as Church Festivals, which he put as in the nature of "beggarly elements." But there was a thread of sincereness about his plans for Church Reform which makes his unsoundness the more to be regretted. He angered Secker—partly by saying that Butler died a Roman—but he had sympathisers at Cambridge — Law, Paley, and Watson, afterwards Bishop of Llandaff; Jebb, and even Bishop Lowth, were his friends. In 1766 came out his "magnum opus" *The Confessional*, though anonymously, in which he questioned the right of a Church, calling itself Protestant, to require its ministers to subscribe to its formularies. But this work, which met with stern opposition from Secker, Hutton's successor at Canterbury, was not published till some years after Hutton's death. Blackburne continued his efforts in favour of relaxation of subscription for some years, though he repudiated when the suggestion was made any sympathy with Arian or Socinian opinions. But the fair result of his patronage of Blackburne is that Hutton's own opinions in Church matters were Latitudinarian in character.

THOMAS SECKER

1758–1768

Thomas Secker, Hutton's successor in the Primacy, was born in 1693 at a small village called Sibthorp or Sibthorpe, near Newark, in the vale of Belvoir, in the county of Nottingham. His father was a Dissenter. Bishop Porteous speaks of him as a "pious, virtuous, and sensible man." Having a small patrimony of his own he had no profession or trade. The future archbishop's mother was the daughter of Mr. George Brough of Shelton, in the county of Nottingham, a substantial gentleman farmer. Young Secker was sent to school first at Chesterfield, in Derbyshire. There can be no doubt that from the first he was a very promising pupil. When industry and ability join forces they are hard to beat, and Secker had a good stock of both. Mr. Brown, his pedagogue at Chesterfield, if the anecdote told in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1768 be true, was a Churchman; for the boy having done well in his classical exercises, his master patted him on the head and said, "Secker, if thou wouldst but come over to the Church, I am sure thou wouldst be a bishop." When archbishop he is said to have given his old master's son, a worthy clergyman with a long family and a short income, a living in Yorkshire. Whether Mr. Brown died or retired we cannot say, but in 1708 young Secker was moved to a Dissenting Academy at Attercliffe, near Sheffield; but his stay here was short, for in about a year's time he was moved to Gloucestershire to a school at Gloucester, afterwards shifted to

Tewkesbury. This school seems to have been kept by one Warner, afterwards by a Mr. Jones.

There is a very interesting letter from Secker to the great hymn-writer, Dr. Watts, published in Dr. Watts' life and dated the 18th November 1711, giving an account of the life at Mr. Jones' academy, from which it may be gathered that it was to Dr. Watts that Secker owed his introduction to Mr. Jones. Jones had been ejected from a living in Wales, and doubtless enjoyed a high reputation among the Nonconformists. The letter says :

" Jones I take to be a man of real piety, great learning, and an agreeable temper, one who is very diligent in instructing all under his care, very well qualified to give instructions, and whose well-managed familiarity will always make him respected. He is very strict in keeping order, and will effectually preserve his pupils from negligence and immorality ; not many academies are freer from those vices than we are. . . . Hebrew and Logic are our morning's work. We are obliged to rise at five o'clock every morning, and to speak Latin always except when below stairs among the family. The greatest inconvenience that we suffer is that we fill the house rather too much, being sixteen in number besides Mr. Jones. I suppose the increase of his academy will oblige him to move next spring. We pass our time very agreeably betwixt study and conversation with our tutor, who is always ready to discourse freely of anything that is useful, and allows us either then or at lecture all imaginable liberty of making objections against his opinion and prosecuting them as far as we can." [1]

At this school came about one of the turning-points of Secker's life ; for among his fellow-scholars was Joseph Butler, afterwards Bishop of Durham and author of the celebrated *Analogy*. The two boys were alike in their love of study, in industry, and in intellectual ability, and it is not surprising that a close friendship sprang up between them, which continued throughout

[1] *Memoirs of Isaac Watts*, by T. Gibbons, p. 10.

their lives. At Mr. Jones' school at Tewkesbury he is said to have had also as a schoolfellow, and even as a chamber-fellow, the eminent Nonconformist divine, Mr. Chandler. It was while still at Tewkesbury that Butler got into correspondence with Dr. Samuel Clarke over his work called *A Demonstration of the Being and Attributes of God*; young Butler in a letter put before Dr. Clarke some reasons against the soundness of certain of Clarke's arguments.[1] These were so properly expressed that Clarke considered and replied to the points of the youthful critic, though personally a stranger to him; a friendship sprang up between them, and the letters were afterwards printed at the end of Clarke's *Evidences of Natural and Revealed Religions*. Secker was privy to the interesting correspondence; in fact, to him was committed in confidence the task of taking his friend's letters to the post office at Gloucester and bringing back Dr. Clarke's replies. It is a misfortune for any boy to have his school often changed, but Secker mastered the misfortune, and the list of his attainments by the age of nineteen is almost staggering. He had by that age, we are told, read the best and most difficult writers in Greek and Latin, acquired a knowledge of French, Hebrew, Chaldee, and Syriac, had learned geography, logic, algebra, geometry, conic sections, and gone through a course of lectures on Jewish antiquities preparatory to the critical study of the Bible.

To the eye of his father the young Secker was in every way fitted for the Nonconformist Ministry, and for eminence and usefulness in it, and, whatever he had studied before, between nineteen and twenty-three he "read" almost exclusively Divinity. The Greek Testament, Eusebius' *History*, Whiston's *Primitive Christianity*, and other theological works were read and re-read; nor is it to be wondered at that the issues between Church and Nonconformity and the

[1] Nichols' *Literary Anecdotes*, iii. 748.

writers thereon were the subjects of careful study. The result, if Bishop Porteous is to be believed, is equally not to be wondered at: such a process and its sequel have ever since been repeated, and are now repeated every day with the sons of many an English home, clerical and lay. In the main, as a result of his studies, young Secker was prepared to accept fully the Christian faith, though on some abstruse and speculative doctrines his views remained uncrystallised and nebulous. On the controversies between Church and Dissent his mind was not fully made up. According to Mr. Jones, as cited by Nichols,[1] while a young man, he preached to a small Dissenting congregation in Derbyshire, but was "thought by the more elderly and grave people there to be rather too young and airy for such a charge." He, however, resolved, as Bishop Porteous says, like a wise and honest man, "to pursue some profession which should leave him at liberty to weigh these things more maturely in his thoughts, and not oblige him to declare or teach publicly opinions which were not yet thoroughly settled in his own mind." Accordingly, about the end of 1716, he began to study physic, and for this purpose he came to London, where he read science and attended lectures for two years. In January 1718–19, to improve himself still more, he went to Paris. Here he certainly seems to have given himself the best chance possible. He lodged at Cloître St. Benoit Rue des Mathurins in the same house with Mr. Winslow, the famous anatomist, whose lectures he attended. Surgical operations at the Hôtel Dieu, lectures on Materia Medica, Chemistry and Botany at the King's Gardens were followed with careful regularity; and he also attended for some time M. Gregoire, the famous accoucheur. While at Paris also young Secker made some good friendships. Among other persons of learning and eminence, he became acquainted with Albinus, afterwards Professor at Leyden, and Father Montfaucon; and here too he first knew

[1] *Literary Anecdotes*, iii. 748.

his future brother-in-law, Martin Benson, afterwards Bishop of Gloucester, a man of high character and great personal charm, with whom much of Secker's after life was so intimately connected.

The zealous student of medicine seems, while in Paris, to have retained his affection for his first love, and to have continued more or less his divinity studies. But much more important, he retained quite unimpaired his intimate friendship with Joseph Butler, and constant correspondence passed between them. Butler by this time had taken Orders, having been ordained Deacon in October, and Priest in December 1718 by William Talbot, then Bishop of Salisbury, afterwards Bishop of Durham. Bishop Talbot seems to have been a man of genuine goodness, though he has been charged with avarice.[1] One of his sons was Charles Talbot, who was Solicitor-General, and afterwards succeeded Lord King as Lord Chancellor. The bishop had another son, Edward, who intended to take Orders, and of whom the highest expectations were formed by his friends. He, like Secker, was an intimate friend of Joseph Butler, but it does not appear that, prior to his return from Paris, Secker had ever met Edward Talbot. The latter had influence not only in ecclesiastical circles as his father's son, but through his brother with the lawyers; and about this time Joseph Butler was appointed on his recommendation, backed up by those of Butler's old correspondent, Dr. Clarke, Preacher of the Rolls; the appointment being made by Sir Joseph Jekyll.

Butler had firmly impressed on his mind the merits of his friend in Paris, and, unknown to Secker, in the course of conversation with his friend, Edward Talbot, mentioned him in such a way as to arouse the friendly interest of Talbot. The interests of religion and of the English Church in particular were very near young Talbot's heart, and we can well understand how the idea

[1] Hore, i. 449.

took hold of him that Secker was a man who should be secured for the sacred calling. Whether Edward Talbot talked the matter over with his father or not, we cannot say. The elder Talbot was no unworthy bishop, and the close intimacy between him and a son minded as Edward Talbot was can be easily surmised. In the result Edward Talbot felt himself justified in promising, and did promise Butler that if Secker took Orders in the Church his father would provide for him. Butler now, as ever, a willing correspondent, wrote, in May 1720, a letter to Secker telling him of Edward Talbot's proposal and promise. At the time of the letter reaching Secker he had not abandoned the idea of practising medicine, but was overwhelmed by the small prospect of doing so with success. His mind, according to Bishop Porteous, had been much running on his old theological lines; his doubts were weaker; his sense of the internal divisions of the Nonconformists—then very keen—more, and his difficulties as to Conformity less acute. So that the situation was very opportune for the suggestion. For two months he thought the proposal over—and in the end accepted it, and came over to England in the end of July or beginning of August 1720.

Nothing could be more natural than that one of Secker's first acts on reaching England was to make acquaintance personally with Edward Talbot; and we are told that they became close friends. *Noscitur a sociis;* and when we come to judge Secker's personal character and to form our judgment on Horace Walpole's ill-natured sneers at him, it is a point in Secker's favour that he formed one of a very interesting group of young men which included Butler, Talbot, and Martin Benson.

About the same time Edward Talbot married, with every prospect of a happy and distinguished career before him. But trouble and bitter disappointment were in the near future. We of the twentieth century do not realise—it is only the very old who have had

the smallest experience of its horrors—what a scourge the smallpox was two hundred years ago to every class of our countrymen. In December 1720, only a few months after his marriage, Edward Talbot caught it. He was only twenty-nine at the time, but to the grief of his wife and friends he succumbed to the complaint. He was able on his deathbed to remember his trio of friends, Butler, Secker, and Benson, with whom he had hoped to do good service for the Church, and to commend them to his father's notice. Secker was advised, and well advised, before taking Orders, to get an Oxford degree, and also that the latter would be made easier by his first becoming a Doctor of Physics of Leyden. Accordingly, a few days after his friend's death, he went *via* Rotterdam to Leyden, and on 7th March 1721 took his degree, publishing as his exercise on the occasion a treatise *De Medicina Statica*, which Bishop Porteous says was thought by the gentlemen of the medical profession "a sensible and learned performance."[1]

On the 1st April 1721, Secker entered himself a gentleman commoner at Exeter College, Oxford, and about twelve months later was admitted, we are told, "without difficulty in consequence of the Chancellor's recommendatory letter to the Convocation" to the degree of B.A.

Secker's life now for a time at any rate lay in London. Here he was admitted to friendship with learned and literary men: Dr. Clarke, rector of St. James', was already his friend and they saw much of one another; with the great Bishop Berkeley, then Dean, he became intimate. But the household where Secker was perhaps the most frequent visitor was that of the widow of Edward Talbot. A daughter was born to her five months after her husband's death, and the baby's sickly health required every care. To help in providing this, Mrs. Talbot had joined forces with Miss

[1] Nichols' *Illustrations of Literature*, iii. 498.

Catherine Benson, sister of Secker's friend, Martin Benson. They had been close companions before Mrs. Talbot's marriage, and in the early days of her widowhood the society of Miss Benson, whose tastes and feelings were similar to her own, had been the greatest support and comfort to Mrs. Edward Talbot. Now the two ladies shared a home and the charge of the delicate little girl. Secker was the intimate friend of both, and, as we shall see later, towards one of the ladies his feelings became of an even tenderer kind.

Bishop Talbot was in November 1721 translated to Durham ; and a year later, in December 1722, Secker was ordained Deacon by him in St. James' Church, Piccadilly. Bishops were then less strict than now in requiring a year to elapse before giving a deacon Priest's Orders, and Secker's ordination as priest by Bishop Talbot followed in March 1723 in St. James' Church. Here the future archbishop preached his first sermon on 28th March 1723. Bishop Talbot seems never to have forgotten his late son's recommendation of his friends. They were, we may well believe, well backed up by what the bishop personally saw of the young clerics. The bishop had a domestic chaplain, one Rundle, a very amusing and witty talker —more amusing and witty apparently than a bishop's chaplain ought to be. The chaplain made enemies by what he said, and produced what good Bishop Porteous calls " disagreeable consequences." We can well understand that the good bishop sought to neutralise the acid of Rundle's vivacity, by the solidity and learning of Secker. At any rate they went down to Durham in July 1723 as filling jointly the office of bishop's domestic chaplain. The bishop had by no means overlooked his son's other friends. He, about this time, gave Joseph Butler the Rectory of Haughton, near Darlington, and gave Martin Benson a prebend of Durham. Secker was within a year

made Rector of Houghton-le-Spring, a rich living in the Bishop of Durham's gift.

Secker was now able to provide a home for a wife; he had no doubt who she was to be; he proposed marriage to Catherine Benson, was accepted, and they were married by good Bishop Talbot in King Street Chapel in October 1728. But all parties wished the home which had been Miss Benson's till her marriage not to be broken up. Mrs. Talbot agreed to bring her little girl to Houghton, and the two families from that time became one.

Meanwhile Joseph Butler was not altogether happy at Haughton; there was a parsonage house to be rebuilt, and Butler, who was getting ready the first edition of his celebrated Sermons, had no mind whatever for builders' estimates or bricks and mortar, nor was the requisite cash at hand for so heavy an expense. By Secker's intervention, Haughton was exchanged for Stanhope, a more valuable benefice, and from Stanhope shortly afterward the Sermons, and a little later the Immortal *Analogy*—so dear to Gladstone—were given to the world. Secker helped his friend in both these publications, his efforts being especially directed to making Butler's style more familiar, and his meaning more obvious.

Secker now devoted himself to his duties as a country parson. He seems to have been a very good one, suiting his sermons to the bucolic taste and understanding, visiting the poor and showing the hospitality of the rectory to those in easier circumstances. The medical knowledge acquired in Paris even came in useful, and was placed at the service of the poorest. Houghton, though very remote, suited Secker's studious ways, and here, as he often said in after life, were spent some of the happiest hours of his life. But Houghton was damp and relaxing, and Mrs. Secker was delicate; and Secker's friends and he himself had to seek a change. A plan was put forward by Martin

Benson, who himself held the prebend of Sarum at Durham, that one Dr. Finney, who was old and infirm, but held the Rectory of Ryton and another prebend at Durham, should resign these, and Secker should receive them in exchange for Houghton. But difficulties arose, apparently through some one else having a claim to Ryton. The kind Benson generously gave up his own prebend to satisfy this claimant, and Secker's exchange went through. On 3rd June 1727 he was instituted to the third prebend in the Cathedral Church of Durham, and to the living of Ryton, near Newcastle, and for the following two years he lived chiefly at Durham, going over every week to officiate at Ryton, and spending two or three months there in the summer. Secker was indebted for his next promotion to Bishop Sherlock, a learned and able prelate, if of the broad opinions in Church matters common in the eighteenth century. Sherlock was then Bishop of Salisbury, and some years later, in 1748, succeeded Gibson in the Bishopric of London. Sherlock heard Secker preach at Bath, and was much impressed with his ability. He brought him to the notice of the Duke of Grafton, then Lord Chamberlain, who in July 1732 appointed him one of the royal chaplains. In the following month, George II. was on one of his visits to Hanover, but Secker preached before the Queen. Queen Caroline, as we have already said, was much interested in theological discussion, and loved discussing the problems of religion with divines, particularly those of Latitudinarian leanings. A few days after his sermon Secker was summoned to the Queen's presence, and had a long talk with her. It was on this occasion that he brought forward Butler's name, the Queen remarking that she thought he had been dead. It was from Lancelot Blackburne, Archbishop of York, whom the Queen afterwards asked if Butler were not dead, that she received the well-known answer : " No, madam, but he is buried." Buried he was in the country at Stanhope, but largely through

Secker's exertions he came out into life again, being appointed chaplain to the Lord Chancellor Talbot, and later Clerk of the Closet to Queen Caroline.

Secker now had influential friends, and the chance of displaying his gifts and industry before those with whom place and power lay. Butler's old correspondent, Dr. Samuel Clarke, had been succeeded in the Rectory of St. James', Piccadilly, in 1829, by Tyrwhit, who had married a daughter of Gibson, Bishop of London. But the church was too large for Tyrwhit's voice, and Gibson proposed that the latter should be given a canonry at St. Paul's, and Secker should take St. James'. The authorities agreed, and, on 18th May 1733, Secker was instituted rector, and two months later he took his degree of D.C.L. at Oxford, preaching as his Act Sermon his discourse on the advantages and duties of university education, which attained great notoriety, went through several editions, and is to be found in the second collection of his Occasional Sermons. The *Weekly Miscellany* calls attention to the absence of Scripture quotations from the sermon, and Horace Walpole, as we shall see later on, in one of his sneering references to Secker, makes a like charge on his sermons in general. Bishop Porteous says that the only notice Secker took of the *Miscellany's* censure, was that he contributed for many years very liberally towards supporting the author of it.

Secker beyond question was a very active and efficient rector of St. James'. His parishioners numbered persons of rank and position, many of whom attended his church.

In 1736, Frederick, Prince of Wales, father of George III., married the Princess of Saxe-Gotha, the sister of the reigning duke, and the young couple lived at Norfolk House, St. James' Square. The Prince of Wales, a good-natured though silly young man, about this time, following paternal example, quarrelled with his father, King George II., and even went so far as to

pose as the opponent of Sir Richard Walpole, the King's Prime Minister, and as Leader of the Opposition. The Prince regularly attended St. James' Church. The first time he did so, the quarrel between the King and the Prince of Wales then occupying a large portion of the public attention, much interest, not to say amusement, was caused by the officiating clergyman beginning the service with the words : " I will arise and go to my Father," etc. ; and some one wanting to cap the story, declared that the rector followed with a sermon on the text " Honour thy father and thy mother." Bishop Sherlock was anxious to defend his protégé, Secker, from the charge of indiscretion, and affirmed that if that were Secker's text, he must have been giving a course on the Ten Commandments, and could not avoid the fifth in its turn. But the story was a figment, Secker's text and subject being quite different.

Secker was on good terms with his royal parishioner, and baptized all of his children except two. He was even employed as an emissary to the King, with a view to patching up the quarrel. In this he failed, and thereby incurred the touchy little monarch's displeasure ; for some years Secker had to submit to the royal silence as a penalty for his want of success as mediator.

According to Horace Walpole, George II. disliked Secker, and on one occasion when he was to preach at Court refused to go to church. But for some reason Horace Walpole was the inveterate foe of Secker, and makes charges against him without foundation. He says of him that he had been " bred a Presbyterian and Man-midwife, which sect and profession he had dropt for a season." This seems a spiteful and unfair reference to the facts we have narrated, viz. that his father was a Nonconformist and that he had attended Gregoire's lectures on midwifery while studying medicine at Paris. More serious is the charge that he had been president of a very free-thinking club. This seems to have referred to something during his residence

at Leyden, but the evidence which Walpole gives is very unsatisfactory, and is contradicted by his friendship with men like Joseph Butler and Martin Benson. The Reverend Mr. Wintle, a divine of learning and good character, a Bampton Lecturer who for a time was one of Secker's domestic chaplains, besides vindicating Secker's character from strictures passed on it by Bishop Hurd in his *Life of Warburton*, also took up the cudgels on Secker's behalf against Walpole's suggestions. He says: "Having myself been acquainted with the archbishop for several years, having lived some time in his family, and having had occasion to enquire with much care into the history of his life, I conceive myself entitled to no small degree of credit in the present case, and from the best opportunities which I have had, of knowing. I do aver that he never was in the midwifery line, nor ever practised that or any other branch of surgery, and that he never was President of an atheistical Club."[1] St. John Loveday, a scholar of repute of the same date, supported what he calls "Wintle's satisfactory vindication of a great and venerable character."[2]

Even Walpole has to admit that when Rector of St. James' it is incredible how popular he grew in his parish. Walpole's suggestion that "his sermons were by a fashion that Secker introduced a kind of moral essay and as clear from quotations of Scripture as when he presided in a less Christian Society, but what they wanted of Gospel was made up by a tone of fanaticism in that he still retained," seems nothing but a spiteful sneer, and is contradicted by an examination of his published sermons.

There seems equally little foundation for Walpole's suggestion that he acted in any way discreditably in connection with the marriage of Lord Chancellor Hardwicke's son and the heiress of the Duke of Kent, who became Marchioness de Grey.

[1] Nichols' *Illustrations of Literature*, iii. 477.
[2] *Ibid.*, iii. 478.

Queen Caroline seems, however, to have been pleased with Secker, and took occasion to express to him her pleasure with his Oxford Act Sermon, which assisted his further promotion. Certain it is that such promotion soon followed. Bishop Gibson was still Walpole's Pope, and it was through him that Secker received, in December 1734, the news that he was to be the new Bishop of Bristol. Other episcopal appointments were made about the same time. Fleming was appointed to Carlisle. Gloucester was vacant, and Lord Chancellor Talbot had designed this for his father's chaplain, Dr. Rundle. But Rundle's indiscreet tongue was his enemy. Gibson was led, by report of some "imprudences of speech" relating to Abraham's offering of his son Isaac, to oppose the appointment, and Martin Benson, the early friend of Butler and Secker, was after much hesitation and persuasion appointed Bishop of Gloucester.[1]

Secker, Benson, and Fleming were all consecrated together in Lambeth Palace Chapel on 19th January 1735, the sermon being preached by Thomas, Bishop of Winchester.

Bristol was a poorly endowed bishopric, and Secker, according to what was expected at the time, retained with his bishopric the Rectory of St. James'.

The average Englishman likes a parson who is a good man of business. The parish accounts at St. James' were in much disorder when Secker came. He reorganised them, and while rector kept his eye on them. He carefully prepared in the vestry the candidates from his parish for the Confirmations which he held yearly; he distributed tracts, and prepared for his parishioners a course of Lectures on the Church Catechism. These he read on Sunday evenings, and at stated times in the week as well. They were well attended, and attained universal approbation. At the present day they would be considered an ordinary

[1] Nichols' *Illustrations of Literature*, iii. 478.

performance; but when they were published they appeared to be, and in fact were, an almost unique effort to put before Church people of no special learning or attainments a plain statement of their religious duties.

Secker was not stingy in money matters; and we are told that he provided out of his own income a salary for reading morning and evening prayers, which had been paid out of the Church offertory.

With his sermons he took great pains; and he acquired much reputation as a preacher. Bishop Porteous says he excelled in "saying the most familiar things without being low, the plainest without being feeble, the boldest without giving offence." We rather expect in an early eighteenth-century sermon a well-composed but dull essay—moral reflections almost amounting to truisms, well-balanced if elaborate sentences, and by no means overmuch doctrine. Secker is much better than this. His subjects are practical; his sentences short. Nor is a sense of humour wanting. In his sermon on the text, "Take heed how ye hear," some of his comments on the behaviour of certain of his hearers seem to have a distinctly humorous vein. "Not a few," says he, "are engaged so deeply in observation of what they see at church that they have no room left for taking notice of what they hear. There are persons too who have so much to say one to another that they lose and make those around lose much of what the preacher hath to say to them all." Better still is the next: "Frequent mutual informations, it seems, are of such importance and necessity to be communicated immediately that even the duties of hearkening to God's Word in the lessons and singing His praises in the psalms must give way to them." Things in church were much as when early in the nineteenth century the fashionable *Rules of Deportment for a Lady* gave as a direction on entering church, "Bow to your acquaintances, pass on, and compose yourself to prayer."

As we shall see later on, Secker was a by no means indifferent speaker in Parliament. But from the *Parliamentary History* he does not appear to have spoken in the Lords while Bishop of Bristol. He, however, attended in Parliament, and from a few months after his consecration began his notes or reports of the speeches which he heard there. With characteristic industry he had learnt shorthand; and the Prefaces to the *Parliamentary History* of the period show that these notes of Secker were the basis of some of the very earliest verbatim reports of parliamentary proceedings. The first of Secker's reports is of a debate on the quartering of soldiers at Elections, and is dated 15th April 1735. Of the same date is the report of another debate on applying part of the Sinking Fund to the service of the current year. These notes were first taken down in shorthand and afterwards written out at large. They strike the reader as being most skilfully and usefully taken. There is a break in the notes after the two debates mentioned above till May 1738, by which time Secker had become Bishop of Oxford, but they were continued thence till 1743.

As Bishop of Bristol, Secker at once set about a visitation of his diocese, and preached and confirmed in many places. But he was not to be long at Bristol. In those days the personal conveniences of the men high in the Church as well as in the State counted for much. We have told, in the life of Archbishop Potter, how it was that he was removed from Oxford to Canterbury. Secker was offered Potter's place at Oxford, but at first declined it. The influential Sherlock, however, wanted Bristol for his brother-in-law, Dr. Gooch; and Secker was prevailed on to make the change, being confirmed in May 1737 as Bishop of Oxford.

When in the fall of the same year Queen Caroline died, Secker occupied the Court pulpit on the following Sunday; his sermon pleased the Princesses, and is said to have been read even by the royal widower; but the

latter's hostility to Secker seems not to have been entirely removed by the perusal. Oxford, like Bristol, was a poorly paid bishopric, and there was no suggestion that Secker should give up his Rectory of St. James', Piccadilly. After his move to Oxford, Secker seems not only to have continued his taking notes of the debates in the House of Lords, but occasionally to have shared in those debates. No doubt, it was generally felt—and he himself must have known—that his intellectual and moral equipment was quite as good as if not better than that of most of his episcopal colleagues. And he seems not to have felt the shyness in parliamentary speaking which troubled some spiritual Peers. In the *Life and Anecdotes of Bishop Newton*, author of *Prophecy*, it is said that he "never attempted to speak in Parliament, for he, as well as most other bishops, entered into the House of Lords at a time too late to begin such exercises."[1] "Some previous practice," the author goes on, "is requisite, which renders lawyers so much readier and abler speakers than the generality of divines. While the convocation was allowed to sit it was a kind of School of Oratory for the clergy, and hence Atterbury and others became such able speakers in the House of Lords." Secker at any rate by the time he was Bishop of Oxford had found his feet among the Peers. His first effort was when he vigorously opposed the Bill put forward by Walpole and his Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sandys, to lower the heavy duties on spirituous liquors imposed by the Act of 1731, of which we have spoken in Archbishop Potter's life, when three eminent doctors at the archbishop's suggestion attended the House of Lords to tell its members how bad ardent spirits were for human beings. All his episcopal colleagues followed Secker's lead in opposing the Bill. A short time afterwards the established clergy of Scotland tried to get a Bill through the Lords setting up a scheme for the maintenance of their widows and children. Con-

[1] Newton's *Life and Anecdotes*, p. 137.

trary to the Scots' expectations, the English bishops, and particularly Secker, proved their friends, not opponents.

As Bishop of Oxford, Secker became the neighbour of the celebrated Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough. At her request he visited her at Blenheim. The great lady seems to have been struck with his capacity and integrity, and after a few interviews asked him to be one of her executors, reading to him at the same time the clause in her will giving her executors £2000 apiece. Secker was on very friendly terms with Lord Chancellor Hardwicke; and perhaps like a wise man he consulted the great lawyer before accepting the office of executor; but Hardwicke, who was also a friend of the Duchess, saw no objection, and he consented and afterwards proved the will. Secker seems to have spoken straightly and acted in an upright manner to the wealthy testatrix. He discouraged the legacy to himself, telling her what was not true, that he was as rich as her Grace, and opposed also her leaving so much to non-relations—it may be remembered that the elder Pitt owed his independence largely to an ample legacy from her. Secker is said to have been surprised at her death to find himself left in as an executor.

Though a sound Churchman, Secker supported Whig ideas, and was on terms of friendship with Sir Robert Walpole and his great Chancellor, Lord Hardwicke. In Oxford, the seat of his see, he found Tories in abundance and even some Jacobites; but he avoided falling foul of them, and perhaps his zealousness in the discharge of his episcopal duties helped him in this respect. The great Minister Walpole fell in February 1742. It was shortly before this, when he was tottering, that Secker was employed by him to try and bring the Prince of Wales to terms with his father.[1] The Prince was bitterly opposed to Walpole, as apparently his father's friend, and helped the Opposition headed by Boling-

[1] *Life of Lord Hardwicke*, i. 532.

broke as much as he could. The message to the Prince conveyed through Secker[1] was that if the Prince would write a letter of condescension to the King he should be taken into favour, his debts paid, and his revenue increased by £50,000. But the ambassage failed: the Prince insisted that Walpole must go; and with George II., who thought Secker might have done more, he remained in disgrace.

In the Young Pretender's Rebellion of 1745 Secker was to the fore. He preached a great sermon full of loyalty to the reigning dynasty, and fury and thunder for its enemies in St. James' as soon as the royal message to Parliament (composed, we learn from Lord Hardwicke's *Life*,[2] by him) announcing the meditated invasion of Britain by Charles Edward was received. The Commons passed almost without discussion a Bill preventing correspondence with the Pretender's sons. But in the Lords, Lord Hardwicke moved amendments attainting of high treason the Pretender's sons if they should attempt to land, and extending the attainder to the children of those convicted under the Act, or, to be more exact, suspending an Act of Anne which would have restricted the forfeiture on attainder to the person convicted. On the last proposal there was a big debate. The text in Ezekiel, "the son shall not bear the iniquities of the father," was really the text on which what we may call the Liberals of the day, the Duke of Bedford, Lord Hervey, Lord Talbot, and others, preached in opposing the amendment. The Lord Chancellor Hardwicke made a great speech in support of it, and foremost among its other supporters was Secker, who spoke extempore but with great force. He sent a circular letter on it to his clergy on the subject of the Rebellion, and headed an address from them to the Crown. He furbished up his sermon preached at St. James' with alterations and amendments, preached it again more than once, and after attending a county

[1] Mahon's *History*, iii. 98. [2] *Life of Lord Hardwicke*, ii. 65.

meeting at Oxford presented it in its improved shape to the King.

Secker had two powerful friends in Newcastle and Hardwicke. In 1747 York fell vacant through the promotion of Herring to succeed Potter. It is said that Newcastle and Hardwicke recommended Secker to George II. for the northern archdiocese, but the old King seems to have thought that Secker had been in opposition at Oxford and said, "I will have no Secker."

Early in 1748 Secker had the misfortune to lose his wife. In spite of her ill-health throughout nearly the whole of their twenty years' married life, Secker's home life had been happy. He was fond of her, and her intellectual gifts made her a fit wife for him. He is said to have "attended her in all her long illnesses with the greatest care and tenderness," and to have been "always ready to break off any engagement or any study" if his company could ease or cheer her.

The Rebellion in 1745 made Englishmen bitter against things Scottish, and in 1748 the Speech from the Throne recommended certain regulations relative to Scotland which were embodied in a Bill for disarming the Highlanders and restraining the use of Highland costume. The Bill also contained provision with respect to the episcopal clergy that only letters of orders granted by an English or Irish bishop should be deemed valid in Scotland in spite of registration according to a former Act. No doubt many of the Scottish episcopal clergy, like the nonjuring bishops, were secretly "promoters," as Lord Hardwicke said, "of disloyalty and rebellion"; but the prelates in the House of Lords, including Herring, Sherlock, Secker, and Butler, treated the clause as an attack upon Episcopacy. The clergy in question, said they, have been duly ordained by persons holding the office of bishops, who, even though deprived of their sees by the State, would remain bishops and capable of con-

ferring valid orders. If willing to take the oaths of fidelity they should be allowed to minister, and to refuse them permission to do so was to ruin them unjustly. Secker led off the opposition to the clause enforcing these arguments in a speech of half an hour. He was answered by his friend, and shall we say patron, Lord Hardwicke, in what is said to have been one of his happiest efforts, and in Committee the clause was rejected by 32 to 28. But on report Lord Hardwicke exerted himself to the uttermost, expressing his apprehensions of the dangerous wound which would be given to His Majesty, and to the Constitution, if that House should show the least tenderness for any authority temporal or spiritual set up in opposition to them.

Secker's opposition to Hardwicke on this occasion seems to have been certainly creditable to him. Secker's emoluments were still moderate; and the Chancellor had sounded him a little before about his having the rich Deanery of St. Paul's in exchange for his Prebend of Durham and Rectory of St. James'.

There was a general impression among those in authority that Secker deserved a move, and upward.[1] At the end of 1749 Archbishop Herring had written to Newcastle suggesting that he should recommend the Bishop of Oxford for Lichfield, which was vacant. It was time, he thought, Secker should give up St. James', he having spent "a long course of years in the most laborious and important cure in the kingdom," and, sound Whig as he was, the archbishop suggests that Secker deserves reward or solatium for having been "used ill by the disaffected Oxonians."

A few months later the archbishop writes again. Bishop Chandler of Durham was lying seriously ill; his recovery was not expected. Butler was designed to have Durham, and his promotion would set free the Bishopric of Bristol and the much more lucrative Deanery of St. Paul's. The letter runs:

[1] Newcastle Corr., addl. MSS, Brit. Mus., 32719, f. 326.

"It was a great pleasure to me to find yr Grace favour so much the removal of the Bishop of Oxford to the Deanery of St. Paul's on the demise of Durham. It will be *otium cum dignitate* and an handsome retirement to him from a Life and Station of more than ordinary labour."[1]

As soon as Durham was actually vacant the archbishop renews the suggestion to Newcastle, "whether St. Paul's as a Dignity of great honour and ease and of a handsome revenue would not be well bestow'd on a man so sincerely affected to His Majesty as the Bishop of Oxford has approved himself, who is of so distinguished abilities, has taken so much pains in a great parochial cure, and who begins to be upon the Decline of Life."[2]

The Chancellor at once wrote to the Duke of Newcastle, who was with his truant master at Hanover, recommending Secker for St. Paul's. George II. consented, and he was installed in December 1750. Secker was now free from his onerous duties as parish priest. He was fifty-seven, and had been seventeen years at St. James'. He had worked hard, and even his malevolent critic, Horace Walpole, says, referring to his time there: "It is incredible how popular he grew in his parish." We are told by Bishop Porteous that "when he preached his farewell sermon the whole audience melted into tears." The sermon is one of those published in his works, and it strikes us as a remarkably successful effort. In pithy, practical sentences the preacher dwells on the points requiring attention on such an occasion, how his parishioners had dealt with him, how and with what results he with them; how were they going to greet his successor? It is better for him to go before he is past work; they have had the best years of his working life. "It is better," he says, "you should be grieved at my departure than weary of my stay." Money had no part in bringing him to or in removing him from St. James'. "I had a large income in the Church,"

[1] Addl. MSS, Brit. Mus., 32720, f. 217. [2] *Ubi supra*, 32721, f. 424.

he says, "when I came hither; I have not enriched myself by my abode here; I shall not enrich myself by going from hence." There is a practical tone which is pleasing in the following passage, addressed, be it remembered, to a fashionable congregation, though the words he uses in reference to the Holy Communion rather grate on our ears. "Surely you may prevail on yourselves if need be to alter your usual hour of eating or visiting once or twice a week in order to come the oftener and adore your Maker, to hear His Word, and give your servants time to do the same thing. Nay, why may not many of you so regulate your affairs as to frequent daily prayers in the church? Few of you, I fear, have them in your families; I speak this to your shame. Nor must I fail to remind you, as you know I have often done, of that highly useful and by no means terrible or difficult duty of receiving the Lord's Supper—enjoined on all Christians and yet absolutely slighted by most."

With his greater leisure Secker became busier with his pen. Since the days when he corrected the proofs and amended the draft of the great Butler, he seems to have been a great hand at assisting other authors whose opinions he shared. Dr. Church published a *Vindication of the Miraculous Powers* against Dr. Middleton in 1751, and an analysis of Lord Bolingbroke's works a few years later. Secker helped much in the production of these treatises. About the same time he assisted Archdeacon Sharp in bringing out some controversial works against the Hutchinsonians, a set of Christians of almost exaggerated orthodoxy, who condemned the Newtonian philosophy as being unscriptural, and, having in general the most profound reverence for Holy Scriptures, held, as Canon Perry says, some singular theories "as to Hebrew roots and the archetypal character of the Hebrew language."

In 1751 Secker lost, to his great grief, his two bishop friends, Benson, Bishop of Gloucester, and Butler,

Bishop of Durham, with whom he had been on terms of affectionate intimacy from boyhood. Benson, in fact, lost his life through going, at Secker's request, to Bath to visit Butler, who was ill there. He was obliged to go hurriedly from Bath on horseback to hold a confirmation in the northern part of his diocese, and the fatigues of the journeys brought on an inflammation of which he died.

In a letter, dated the 8th August 1752, written from Cuddesden, Secker says :

" Dr. Irwin" (a celebrated Oxford physician of the day, whose bust is in the Library at Christ Church) " thinks the Bishop of Gloucester's case to be a rheumatism occasioned by an excessive fatigue when he went to see the poor Bishop of Durham at Bath and by a cold took afterwards ; and hopes he will soon be better."

But ten days later he gives a less favourable account :

" The good Bishop of Gloucester is in a very weak and, I fear, dangerous condition. His pains continue, and several paralytic symptoms have appeared since I wrote to you last. I had a letter from him on Friday, in which he speaks of his case as one who thinks it desperate ; but writes with much cheerful composure, as well he may ; and introduces a variety of subjects. We have all asked leave to come to him, but cannot obtain it. And whether we shall ever see him more in this world, God knows, and His will be done. Dr. Irwin had once advised his going to Bath ; but hath changed his mind."

Within the same twelve months Secker had also to lament the death of the celebrated philosopher, Bishop Berkeley, who was his friend.

The next year, 1753, saw Secker busy in Parliament over what was known as the Jew Bill, to which we have already referred ; and on this measure his conduct may be thought less free from question than it usually was. An Act was passed in the summer of 1753 per-

mitting Jews to be naturalised. There seems not to have been much debate on it. Some business people supported it as likely to bring money into the country. But it had a clause in it which prevented a Jew from being the patron of a living or ecclesiastical office. Newcastle and Hardwicke, however, had underestimated the power of anti-semitism. During the recess there was such a clamour against the measure that on the very first day of the next Session the Prime Minister, the Duke of Newcastle, brought forward a Bill repealing the Act of the preceding Session. Here was a difficult situation! There were no new facts; apart from the merits a good rule *fieri non debet factum valet* forbade the repeal. As Earl Temple said, it was beneath the dignity of Parliament to pass a law one Session and repeal it the next. Secker came to the Government's help and made a successful speech for the repeal; though one noble lord said that for the greater part of the speech he thought the bishop was opposing the repeal, he having advanced more in favour of the Bill than he had ever heard before. Secker wanted to preserve the clause about patronage of livings, but the House would be satisfied with nothing but complete repeal.

As Dean of St. Paul's, Secker attended the Cathedral service morning and evening every day; and arranged with the other residentiaries to preach in turn on Sunday afternoons. His good business qualities and habits were very useful to him as Dean. There was a fund vested in trustees appropriated towards repairs of the Cathedral. The accounts of this fund had got into confusion. Secker overhauled them and got the trustees to agree to a proper apportionment of the expenses. The inhabitants of St. Faith's, a city parish near the Cathedral, had or claimed a share of, or at any rate rights over, St. Paul's Churchyard. It was a thorny question. Secker cleared it up and brought the men of St. Faith's to an agreement. He indexed the old Cathedral

documents, made extracts of what was material from the registers and books in the chapter-house for the use of himself and his successors, and corrected with the original the copy of the ancient statute book then in use.

As diocesan, Secker maintained his character of being no idler. When in residence at Cuddesden, where he spent the summer months, he generally preached in the parish church every Sunday morning, and read a lecture on the Catechism in the evening. His episcopal charges received attention and general approval. His proximity to Oxford doubtless caused him from time to time anxiety. "The home of lost causes" had within its walls men, and men of learning and weight, who hankered after a Stuart King and all that a Stuart King meant in Church and State. In 1746 two students of the University were tried in the King's Bench for disloyalty and for having openly proposed the Pretender's health: they were convicted and fined, and had, according to the sentence, to "walk immediately round Westminster Hall with a title affixed to their foreheads denoting their crime and sentence"; and for the personally attractive Pretender the first two Georges were a poor set off. Secker was known to be an out-and-out supporter of the reigning dynasty; nay more, not only was he a supporter, but a friend of the Duke of Newcastle and Lord Hardwicke. In the General Election of 1754, shortly after the death of Henry Pelham, the ablest of the Ministry, party feeling ran high. It was thought the best course to make his less able brother, the Duke of Newcastle, Premier, though in the Lords. Fox refused, and Pitt was as yet not asked to lead the Commons. The Government was doubtful of the Elections, and Secker felt it his duty to support them. This must have chagrined his Tory neighbours at Oxford. But he managed to keep good friends with the University as a whole, and even his opponents respected him as learned and industrious.

Archbishop Hutton's death on 19th March 1758 was sudden.

The vacillations, the jealousies, the intrigues which in 1757 had left the country for eleven weeks without a Ministry were over. Newcastle had resigned in 1756 from sheer incapacity to steer the country through its foreign complications. But he loved his patronage as Minister, and was jealous any one else should have it ; and the majority of the House of Commons were, as the result of his corrupt methods, " his men." The Ministry of Devonshire and Pitt which followed Newcastle's resignation was a failure. The King was always thinking of Hanover, and did not want Pitt, for it was the " being thought an enemy to Hanover " that was, as Lord Waldegrave says, " the solid foundation of Pitt's popularity."[1]

So by the second half of 1757, all other expedients having failed, and though, as Lord Waldegrave says, " the Duke of Newcastle hated Pitt as much as Pitt the Duke of Newcastle,"[2] the Pitt-Newcastle coalition was formed on terms of Newcastle managing the patronage, and Pitt, as Mr. Gardiner says, " the business of politics and the war."[3]

The account which Horace Walpole gives of Secker's elevation to Canterbury is as follows :

" On Hutton's death the Duke of Newcastle had great inclination to give Canterbury to Dr. Hay Drummond, Bishop of St. Asaph, a gentleman, a man of parts and of the world, but Lord Hardwicke's influence carried it for Secker, who certainly did not want parts or worldliness."[4]

Dr. Drummond, who was of aristocratic birth, being second son of the eighth Earl of Kinnoul, had attended George II. in the campaign of 1743, and preached the

[1] *Memoirs of Lord Waldegrave*, 130.
[2] *Ubi supra*, 130. [3] *Student's History*, 751.
[4] Walpole's *Memoirs of Geo. II.*, iii. 107.

thanksgiving sermon at Hanover for the Dettingen victory.[1]

In the letter to Lyttelton which we have already quoted, written three days after Archbishop Hutton's death, Horace Walpole says: "It is believed that St. Durham goes to Canterbury." "St. Durham" was Trevor, Bishop of Durham.

But from the letters of those most intimately concerned with the appointment of a Primate there never seems to have been a shadow of doubt about Secker filling the vacancy. The King, of course, had to be reckoned with, but beside him Hardwicke and Newcastle were the men with whom the appointment lay. Poor Archbishop Hutton died on the evening of Sunday, 19th March, and the very next day Lord Hardwicke writes to Newcastle, the Prime Minister:

"I did not hear that the Archbishop of Canterbury was ill till late last night, and am now extremely sorry for the loss of so considerable and valuable a man. I conjectured that his illness just at this time might be owing to the fatiguing attendances of last week. . . .

"Who shd be his successor is undoubtedly a question of the greatest importance in every respect. I am clearly of opinion that the Bishop of Oxford ought to be the man, for all kinds of reasons, and I hope the King will in his wisdom make no difficulties about it."[2]

On the same Monday, Newcastle writes to Secker, and says that he had told the King that morning that it was "absolutely necessary in the present situation of the King and the kingdom, His Majesty shd make choice for the See of Canterbury of one of the greatest eminence in his profession, of dignity, weight, and authority, which person I humbly thought shd be the Bishop of Oxford, and I suggested nobody else."

[1] Walpole's *Geo. III.*, i. 73.

[2] Newcastle Corr., addl. MSS, Brit. Mus., 32878, f. 278.

The fateful Monday saw yet a third letter—Secker to the Minister, dated from the Deanery of St. Paul's :

"I received your Grace's letter in the midst of company just going to dinner with me, and have but a moment's time to say that I am quite terrified at the unexpected contents of it, that I shall have great cause to be pleased if His Majesty thinks of some worthier person, that if he should pitch on me I must endeavour thro' God's help to appear as little unworthy as I can."

Secker was confirmed archbishop at Bow Church on the 21st April 1758.

George II. was now becoming old and possibly indifferent to everything except the charms and interests of Hanover, but it is to his credit that he fell in with what was a proper appointment. Indeed, it is said that in the short period that remained of George II.'s life he treated the new archbishop with much more kindness than he had shown him before.

Secker was soon busy in making a visitation of his new archdiocese. It seems from his first charge to the Diocese of Canterbury that many of the clergy were non-resident, giving as a reason the unhealthiness of their livings or parsonages. Secker seems to have taken a sensible if rather indulgent line with such cases. Where the parson made out that he really could not reside, the archbishop said, "Then get a good curate, and in paying him remember what a nasty place you put him in" ; if the parson said, "My stipend is too small and my children too many for me to pay any curate highly," Secker said, "Then I will pay your curate something extra out of my own pocket" ; and the more unwholesome the curate's cure the more quickly was he remembered by the archbishop for preferment when some ecclesiastical place was a-begging.

1759 was a year of victories for the British ; Wolfe at Quebec in September, and Ferdinand at Minden about the same time ; Hawke wound up the year with

a splendid defeat of the French fleet at Quiberon Bay. Secker writes to the Prime Minister on 30th November 1759, how Providence is "blessing H.M.'s army in this extraordinary manner with one victory after another," and hopes a day or two later he may propose the immediate use of a Collect of Thanksgiving for our late happy victory: "a publick acknowledgment will," says he, "I am persuaded be extremely agreeable to the King and expected by the Nation."[1]

George II.'s health had been failing for some time before his death; he said he saw everything as through crape. But on 25th October 1760 he died after not more than a few minutes' illness. It fell to Secker's lot to take part in proclaiming the new monarch. He was indeed no stranger to the archbishop, who, when Rector of St. James', had baptized him. Secker has given an account in some MS Court Papers,[2] preserved at Lambeth, of his interview with his new master two days after the old King's death.

"The King," he says, "sent for me into a room where he was alone, and told me that as the Royal Family was numerous and he was unwilling to put in any of his brothers and leave out his uncle, and many names might hereafter make confusion, he thought it would be best to insert only the Princess Dowager of Wales in particular. I assented to it; and then I took the opportunity of assuring him of my duty and best services. He said very graciously that he had no doubt on that head, and that I was one of his oldest acquaintance, having baptized him on the day he was born after once doubting whether he was alive, as Mrs. Kennon the midwife had often told him."

The archbishop reports another conversation on the following Sunday:

"The King hoped the proclamation against vice and profaneness would be regarded and have a good

[1] Addl. MSS, Brit. Mus., 32879, ff. 219, 272.
[2] Court Papers MSS, Lambeth, No. 1130.

effect. I answered that such proclamations had been apt to be considered as matters of course, but that his example, I was persuaded, would give life and vigour to this. He replied that he thought it was his principal duty to encourage and support religion and virtue."

George II. was buried on 11th November in Henry VII.'s Chapel at Westminster in the evening, the abbey being lighted with numerous torches. Secker says: "I went to the great door of Westminster Hall in my coach, which was allowed to remain there all the time. They who walked first in the procession filled the stalls before they who walked last came, so that I and the Lord Keeper and Lord Privy Seal, etc., stood for some time in the middle of the choir, but afterwards we went to a bench in the N.E. corner and stayed there. I got home to Lambeth at eleven." Horace Walpole has a horrid story of Newcastle going into hysterics and being plied by the archbishop with smelling-salts.

Secker gives an account of his view of the position in a letter to Dr. Johnson, President of King's College, New York. He speaks, perhaps, with overmuch kindness and charity of the dead King. He says: "We have lost our good old King, a true well-wisher to his people, and a man of many private virtues.[1] His successor is a regular and worthy and pious young man, and hath declared himself, I am satisfied, very sincerely to have the interest of religion at heart. . . . God keep him in the same mind, and bless his endeavours. He continues the same ministry which his grandfather had with as few changes as possible; and I know not whether this nation was ever so much at unity in itself as it is at present."

It was quite in accord with Secker's tastes that he should take, as he did, a leading part in searching the precedents and settling the proper ceremonial to be followed at the new King's coronation. Of course he performed the ceremony himself. There was a difficulty

[1] Chandler's *Life of Dr. Johnson of New York*, 181.

THOMAS SECKER
(From the Painting by Sir JOSHUA REYNOLDS, P.R.A.)

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whether the King should take off his crown when he received the Communion. Secker says: "At the Communion the King asked me if he should not take off his crown. I said the office did not mention it. He asked if it would not be more suitable to such an act of religion. I said 'Yes'; but the Queen's crown could not be taken off easily. When I had put on the crown, the ladies pinned it to the Queen's head-dress or hair. The King then asked what must be done? I said as the ladies' heads are used to be covered it would not be regarded.[1] He put off his crown immediately, and all the Peers that saw it took off their coronets." Archbishop Wake's MS directs both the King and Queen to take off their crowns. His printed form does not. Bishop Newton, who was present as a prebendary, gives a similar account. He says that when the young King approached the Table to receive the Communion, he inquired of the archbishop whether he should not lay aside his crown while receiving the consecrated elements. The cautious Secker asked the Bishop of Rochester, but neither of them knew or could say what had been the usual form. Thus they left the point to His Majesty's own judgment. The King determined within himself that humility best became such a solemn act of devotion, and took off his crown and laid it aside.

Secker resided during almost the whole of his archiepiscopate at Lambeth. It is not strange that to one who was nothing if not a scholar the library at Lambeth was of the greatest interest. He is said to have spent more than £300 in arranging the MSS there, and having the old registers of the see[2] duly catalogued. Finding that since Tenison's days it had received no additions of new books, he spent much money and trouble in collecting books in all languages from all over Europe for it,[3] and to it he by his will bequeathed the greater

[1] Stanley's *Memorials of Westminster Abbey*, 101.
[2] Nichols' *Illustrations of Literature*, iii. 482.
[3] Allen's *Lambeth*, 188.

part of his own very valuable collection of books. Of the religious wants of his Lambeth neighbours he was careful, giving £500, a large sum in those days, to build a chapel at Stockwell, in the parish of Lambeth, besides giving the communion plate and what the *Gentleman's Magazine* calls the "furniture for the pulpit reading-desk and communion table."

To the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge he was a liberal benefactor. He zealously supported the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, founded in 1701 by Dr. Bray. Its beginnings were during the first century of its existence small. Secker writes of it to his friend Johnson of New York in 1752: "Our fund is reduced at present very low; and the last year's benefactions have been very small."[1]

In one sphere of its operations, the American Colonies, the archbishop took particular interest, being a strong advocate for the appointment of bishops to govern the Episcopal Churches there. It was indeed on this question that he met with the largest measure of abuse and invective that he ever encountered.

Of the thirteen states, all or nearly all on the fringe of the Atlantic, which constituted the British Colonies destined to become the United States, Virginia was Cavalier and High Church, New England Puritan and Independent, Maryland Roman Catholic, Pennsylvania Quaker. At the end of the seventeenth century, Maryland became Anglican, and it was to Maryland that Dr. Bray was sent out by the Bishop of London as his commissary. The story of the Anglican Church in America during the first half of the eighteenth century is one of growth and development. Keith, the first S.P.G. missionary in Boston, laboured with such zeal that in 1703 his companion wrote, "Churches are going up amain where there were never any before." In South Carolina the negroes came into the Church in thousands; by the middle of the century there were

[1] Chandler's *Life of Johnson*, 175.

twenty parishes in the Province with settled clergy, and the Legislature allowed £100 a year stipend to each clergyman. In North Carolina the Church had a hard fight with the Quakers; but in 1732 Boyd, and in 1742 Clement Hall, came over and were ordained by the Bishop of London for the American ministry. Before this an heroic effort had been made by certain Fellows of Trinity, Dublin, under the auspices of the great Berkeley, then Dean of Derry, to carry out a proposal of his for establishing a Training College at Bermuda, but Sir R. Walpole played Berkeley false over a grant he had promised, and the scheme failed. In 1748 there were in New England thirty-six episcopal clergy.

With the best of English Churchmen, the proposal to appoint bishops for America had long found favour. Archbishop Tenison by his will left £1000 to the S.P.G. towards founding two such bishoprics; and thirty or forty years later his example in this respect had been followed by the great Bishop Butler of Durham, and by Secker's great friend Benson, Bishop of Gloucester.[1] Secker strongly favoured the proposal, and in 1750–51 addressed a letter on the subject to Walpole. It was not published during his life, but pursuant to a written direction left by Secker was published by his executors.[2] The occasion of it seems to have been as follows: Sherlock, Bishop of London in 1748, applied to the Government for the appointment of two or three bishops for the plantations, keeping clear of New England, where dissent was strong. Walpole, always anxious to keep the good-will of the Dissenters, who were especially strong in his own county of Norfolk, rejected the proposal, and sent Secker a copy of his reply to Sherlock. This drew from the Bishop of Oxford and Rector of St. James', "a letter to Walpole concerning bishops in America." The proposal it supported was a modest one, "that two or three persons should be ordained

[1] Hore, ii. 92. [2] See vol. vi. of Secker's works.

bishops and sent into our American Colonies to administer Confirmation, and to give deacons and priests orders to proper candidates, and to exercise the jurisdiction of the late Bishop of London's commissaries."

No one was more sensible than Secker of the difficulties in the way. There was, as we have said, at the head of King's College, New York, as its first president, a Dr. Samuel Johnson, with whom Secker maintained a frequent and intimate correspondence. He showed great interest in Johnson's College, discussing with its president the merits of, and himself interviewing, candidates in England for professorships and tutorships there.[1] In a letter to Johnson, written in February 1752, nearly one and a half years after his letter to Walpole, he says: "Concerning the important scheme of establishing bishops abroad, I can at present give no encouraging prospect . . . indeed, religion continues to decay most lamentably."

And Secker had a good case. As he pointed out, the Church of England is in its constitution episcopal; the episcopal clergy being numerous needed supervision at a less distance than 3000 miles. They would need ordained successors, and candidates for the ministry should be saved the "trouble, cost, and hazard" of coming to England for ordination. Granted that there were saints and heroes among those ministering in America, and that Secker's description in his letter to Walpole of them as "men of desperate fortunes, low qualifications, bad and doubtful characters, and a great part of them Scotch Jacobites, was exaggerated and cynical"—there was a tendency for black sheep to come in where there was no shepherd's correcting hand.

There were to be no Lord Bishops, only chief Pastors, and none except in episcopal colonies.

One of the points put forward is of interest to us twentieth-century folk, who start to cross the Atlantic

[1] Chandler's *Life of Johnson*, 175.

in monster, floating hotels, making less of it than our grandfathers did of going to Bath in a postchaise. It was alleged that of those who crossed the Atlantic to obtain ordination, near a fifth part had actually lost their lives on the voyage. They were also found to be especially susceptible to smallpox when they arrived in England.

But there was a violent opposition from Dissenters both in England and America. And at home the Broad Churchmen backed up this opposition. It would have been strange if the American Dissenters had not been frightened at the suggestion to introduce bishops into the land to which their fathers had banished themselves in quest of religious freedom. All the worst features of Episcopacy at its worst were conjured up by the alarmed imagination of the Dissenters; Peer prelates carrying with them pomp and palaces, ecclesiastical courts claiming jurisdiction in matrimonial and testamentary matters, the exaltation of the Church over the Nonconformist communities and vigorous proselytising from these communities. All these were read into the proposal. A Dr. Mayhew, a Congregational minister in Boston, was a Protagonist against having bishops in America. He published a pamphlet of much bitterness against the promoters of the scheme, the S.P.G. in particular. He inveighed against bishops as "the mitred, lordly successors of the fishermen of Galilee."

To this pamphlet Secker published a lengthy reply. He writes to Johnson on the 19th March 1754 his desire that "the ministers of our Church in America by friendly converse with the principal Dissenters could satisfy them that nothing more is intended than that our Church may enjoy the full benefit of its own institutions, as all others do. For so long as they are uneasy and remonstrate regard will be paid to them and their friends here by our Ministers of State."[1] Mayhew had to admit that if what was intended was only what

[1] Chandler's *Life of Johnson*, 176.

Secker put forward, his strictures were too severe. But great bitterness was roused against Secker for his attitude on this question.

Blackburne poured his utmost contempt on the plan of sending bishops to America, calling it "a mere empty, chimerical vision." If episcopal ministrations be vital to the Church, why were they so omitted in England? How, for instance, could Confirmation be really indispensable when "in several dioceses there are no Confirmations for several years"? Blackburne had a great friend, Thomas Hollis, who had been an admirer of Secker, but who took up the cudgels against him on the American bishops' question. Hollis seems to have been a queer person of independent means; he was, and advertised himself as being, of "Whig if not republican principles." Boswell, in his *Life of Johnson*, iv. 52, speaks of him as "the strenuous Whig who used to send over Europe presents of democratical books with their boards stamped with daggers and caps of liberty." He devoted himself to literature and was a liberal benefactor to, amongst other institutions, Harvard University. Blackburne published a Memoir of him, which shows that though he attended no church he was "a man of unusual piety." He was at one time an admirer if not a friend of Secker, and presented him, while Bishop of Oxford, with a head of Socrates in green jasper; but over this question of bishops for America he waxed furious, and charged Secker in a letter to Mayhew with leaving popery untouched, with persecuting one Annet, with showing no affection to liberty, but "treading with glee the mitred court paths." These charges are without proof. Annet was an atheistical schoolmaster who for a book called *Free Enquirer* was sent to Newgate. Secker had no hand in the prosecution,[1] and is said to have relieved the necessities of Annet while in prison. Secker, however, continued to the end of his life to take the greatest

[1] Nichols' *Illustrations of Literature*, iii. 480.

interest in and press for, with all the powers at his command, the suggested appointment of some bishops in America. But the eagerness and piety of many of the Nonconformists of the day, if nothing else, gave them power, and they did not like the step. So the struggle was long, and many and many a time Secker had to advise perseverance as well as patience. As late as 1763 we find him writing to Johnson, "We must try our utmost for bishops. Hitherto little has been said to ministers and less by them on the subject."

The approach of the war with the United States made any prospect of appointing bishops for America hopeless. Secker could get after "earnest and continued endeavours" nothing but promises to consider and confer about the matter. The King favoured the scheme,[1] and suggested sending a bishop to Quebec if other places were objected to.

Bishop Porteous says: "Posterity will stand amazed when they are told that on this account his memory has been pursued in pamphlets and newspapers with such unrelenting rancour, such unexampled wantonness of abuse as he would scarce have deserved had he attempted to eradicate Christianity out of America, and to introduce Mahometanism in its room."

We must not expect even in so good a man as Secker was perfect freedom from an eighteenth-century view of Church patronage—something out of which you were justified in providing for those of your own household if not bound so to do.

On the 31st March 1761 he writes to Newcastle to ask for a prebend, one of nine belonging to the King, for his brother's son. "I have," he says, "no house or lodging at Canterbury, and yet am expected to entertain much company in a very expensive manner when I am there. For these reasons I presume it hath been usual for the Crown to indulge the archbishops with leave to recommend to a vacant place in the Church.

[1] Chandler's *Life of Johnson*, 199.

Archbishop Wake obtained the Deanery for his son-in-law, and Archbishop Potter a prebend for his son."[1]

But Secker was not without conscience in patronage matters. He could even dare to say "No" to his omnipotent friend Newcastle. The latter wrote to tell him his relative, James Cornwallis, brother to Secker's successor at Canterbury, wanted a Fellowship at Merton. Newcastle gave as his reason, "My niece, Lady Cornwallis, and her son, my Lord Cornwallis, have acted towards me with so much regard and affection." Secker replied that as Visitor of Merton it would be improper for him "to recommend any one for a fellowship."[2]

It must have been with all his heart that Secker took up the task of contradicting the report published in a pamphlet in 1767 that the great Bishop Butler had died a Roman Catholic. In three articles in the *Gentleman's Magazine* signed "Misopseudes," Secker denied the truth of the report, and his denial seems to have been ultimately accepted.

Though he was charged by his enemies with being a hanger-on of the Court, and of course knew the young King George III. better than his grandfather, according to Bishop Newton he was never very acceptable at Court.[3] On George III.'s accession twenty new chaplains were appointed, and, contrary to established practice, without consulting the Primate. Secker's friends would have had him demur: but, according to Bishop Newton, he thought his opportunities for doing good in the future would be diminished, not augmented, should he have a breeze with the new monarch; and he complained not. At any rate his more personal knowledge of the new King as well as a more congenial moral atmosphere made Secker come to Court more often than in the old King's days. Lord Mahon says

[1] Addl. MSS, Brit. Mus., 32921, f. 236.
[2] *Ubi supra*, 32949, ff. 391, 401.
[3] Newton's *Life and Anecdotes*, 117.

it was "observed with satisfaction that the Archbishop of Canterbury, proud of so promising a pupil, and having no longer a Lady Yarmouth to encounter, had become frequent in attendance at Court."[1]

We have recorded in Archbishop Wake's Life how in 1725 a protest against the masked balls or "masquerades" that were held in London was made to George I. Lord Mahon records that London was so frightened by the Lisbon earthquake in 1752 that masquerades were given up. It seems, however, that they survived in sufficient strength to shock pious minds, and in 1766 an energetic appeal was made to Archbishop Secker about them. Some passages from the appeal are worth quoting. After referring to the archbishop as being both from his position and virtues "the natural patron of the following Proposal" which is to help "to check, and if your Grace's wise deliberations may be further improved, to remedy all or any of the evils resulting from the too frequent resort of the middling and lower class of people to public diversions which in the general opinion are but real allurements to idleness and vice. . . ." "To support these modish entertainments great numbers of both these classes squander away their time, health, and substance." The appeal goes on to suggest, as a remedy, to oblige "the proprietors of all licensed and unlicensed diversions whether balls, masquerades, operas, plays, concerts, amphitheatres, breakfastings, etc., throughout the Kingdom to hold them by tickets stamped by authority, and over and above the usual prices that a tax be laid on each ticket according to its present value not exceeding four shillings in the pound." "For London it is estimated this would produce over £20,000 a year, which might be given to the Foundling Hospital," between which and the Masquerades the appeal sees a connection.[2] How Secker responded to the appeal we have not been able to ascertain.

[1] Mahon's *History*, iv. 210. [2] *Gentleman's Magazine*, xxxviii. 523.

Secker's attitude to the revival of Convocation is not easy to define. "I spoke to Lord Hardwicke," he writes to the Duke of Newcastle on the 19th October 1761, "some time ago about the Convocation, who agreed perfectly with your Grace in the opinion that I ought to have some proper notification of His Majesty's pleasure upon the question of laying Heads of Business before that assembly."[1]

But there was a synodical meeting of the clergy at the beginning of George III.'s reign, and for it Secker prepared an *oratio synodalis*, though he was too ill to attend the meeting. In this he says that the nature of the time and the position of affairs are not realised by those who favour the revival of Convocation. The Deists, infidels, Romanists, and Dissenters would strive for confusion : if they did little their inactivity would be derided, if they did much all men would fear their restlessness and love of change. Many, and those not unwise persons, think, and will always think, that had Convocation met and put forward a judicious utterance on such points as Conversion or Personal Assurance many Methodists might have been retained for the Church : for 1760 first saw Wesley's preachers taking out licences as Dissenting preachers and to administer the Sacraments, and Charles wrote to John Wesley : "We are come to the Rubicon." It was a critical time. *Dis aliter visum.*

Secker maintained his intimacy and a constant correspondence with the Duke of Newcastle after the death of Lord Hardwicke in March 1764, and seems to have been employed in the summer of 1765 to assist in the arrangements which were being made for forming the Cabinet of Lord Rockingham, under whom Newcastle returned to office as Privy Seal.

It was desired to appoint the unhappy Charles Yorke to office. Secker was employed to get over his scruples. The archbishop writes from Lambeth at eleven o'clock

[1] Addl. MSS, Brit. Mus., 32929, f. 377.

at night, on the 12th July 1765, to Newcastle and reports a long conversation with Mr. Yorke. What the archbishop said had made "a considerable impression on him, though acceptance would be attended with some disagreeable circumstances—but he must have a little more time to consider."[1]

Secker seems to have shared the suspicions which almost all the statesmen of the day felt about the elder Pitt. The latter did not form his short-lived Cabinet till July 1766, but for months before this the Ministry of Lord Rockingham, under whom Pitt would not serve, was in difficulties with the King. On the 16th February 1766, in reply to a letter of Newcastle, who spoke of Mr. Pitt's assistance and service as absolutely necessary, the archbishop writes :

"How many more caprices he (Pitt) may have private and publick if he gets into power again no one can foresee. But he hath shown abundantly formerly and of late that nothing less than full power will suffice him—and I dread to think what in that plenitude he may attempt. . . . His passions and his haughtiness are such that I doubt whether he himself can be sure of what he will do."

The Rockingham Ministry repealed the Stamp Act which Lord Grenville had passed in 1765, and which caused such fury in the American Colonies. Secker approved the repeal, though he does not seem to have taken a very clear or far-seeing view on the American question, and writes on the 2nd February 1766 : "The dangerous consequences of the Stamp Act appear so much more plainly now than they did when it was passed."

During the last ten years of his life Secker suffered much from bad health. The gout attacked him often and badly. He writes to Johnson in December 1761 : "I have had a severe fit of the stone, and am now under a second fit of the gout within these six months" ; and

[1] Addl. MSS, Brit. Mus., 32967, f. 361.

a year and a half later to the same correspondent, on 18th August 1762 : " I have had the gout near three months in my right hand, which is still very weak and stiff, and it hath now seized my left and I write in great pain."

Two years later he writes that the gout had seized both his hands and both his feet. " It made," says he, " several attacks on my right hand, and disabled me from making almost any use of it for two or three months." His gout increased greatly in the following years of his life, and the attacks after they passed off left him with rheumatic pains of great severity. He seems also to have suffered again from stone, and recovered with difficulty from an attack of it in January 1767.

A sharp attack of gout in the winter of 1766–7 left him with a pain in his shoulder. This lasted a twelvemonth and the pain then shifted to the opposite thigh. Here it was almost continuous, and of great severity, and as it hindered his taking exercise the poor archbishop declined rapidly in health. He was extraordinarily patient and cheerful before his family, but to his physicians he complained of pains so excruciating that he thought it would be impossible to support them long.

He says in a letter to Newcastle from Lambeth, dated the 26th May 1767 : " I am not able and have not been able for some sessions past to bear the heat and the fatigue of long days in the House of Lords."[1] And in a letter two months later calls his suggestions " the low-spirited imaginations of a man in very great pain."[2]

On the 28th January 1768 he says : " I am obliged to give a worse account of myself. I am lifted into and out of my Bed by four men."[3] The Duke of Grafton of " lounging opinions," whom we shall say something of

[1] Addl. MSS, Brit. Mus., 32982, f. 138. [2] *Ubi supra*, 32983, f. 242.
[3] *Ubi supra*, 32988, f. 101.

in Cornwallis' Life, had become Premier, and the poor archbishop complains that he had never asked him a single question or "communicated to him a single intention or even actual Disposition relative to ecclesiastical affairs."

On the 13th July 1768 he writes from Lambeth to Dr. Nathaniel Lardner, the Nonconformist divine, a letter in which he says :

"It hath pleased God to afflict me for many months with so constant and severe a pain in one of my hips that I am almost incapable of attention to anything else. Become quite useless and almost worn out, I beg you will pray God to give me patience and such degree of ease as He shall think fit : and can only add that as I hope my spirit is truly Christian towards all who love the Lord Jesus in sincerity so I am with particular esteem and thankfulness for the whole of your obliging behaviour to me through life.—Yr faithful friend and servant,

"Thomas Cant."

On Saturday the 30th July 1768 he was seized with sickness while at dinner. On the evening of the following Sunday, while lying on his couch and being attended by his doctors and servants, he suddenly cried out that his thigh bone was broken.

He lay in great agony for some time. Attempt was made to set the bone, but without substantial benefit to the patient. He fell into a kind of delirium on the Tuesday following, with some ease of the pain, and passed away about five on the Wednesday afternoon. A post-mortem examination showed that the thigh bone was carious, its substance being almost destroyed in parts by the disease. Hence the excruciating pains he had experienced.

Secker was seventy-five when he died. He was buried by his own desire in a covered passage leading from the garden door of the Palace to the north door of Lambeth Church. He expressly forbade any monument

or epitaph to be put up for him anywhere. A black marble slab with the simple inscription,

THOMAS SECKER,
ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY,
Died Aug. 5, 1768, aged 75,

marks his last resting-place.

Secker's will is of interest. He appointed as his executors, Dr. Burton, a scholarly friend and Canon of Christ Church, and Mrs. Talbot, his wife's friend, who with her daughter had been, as we have said, from his marriage for forty-two years inmates of his house and members of his family. For these two ladies, the younger of whom did not long survive him, he provided by vesting £13,000 Consols in his two chaplains, one of whom, Dr. Beilby Porteous, was his biographer and afterwards Bishop of London, in trust for the benefit of the two ladies and the survivor of them. When they were both dead he gave the fund in charity. The dispositions of the will included, among others, £1000 to S.P.G. for general purposes.

£1000 to S.P.G. for establishing a bishop or bishops in America.

£500 to the S.P.C.K.

£500 to each of the archbishop's three hospitals, viz.: Croydon, St. John at Canterbury, and St. Nicholas at Harbledon.

To St. George's and the London Hospital and the Lying-in Hospitals £500 each, and £300 each to the Magdalen Hospital, the Lock Hospital, and the Small-pox and Inoculation Hospital. The list winds up with £2000 towards repairing and rebuilding the Houses belonging to Poor Livings in the Diocese of Canterbury.

His gifts to the library at Lambeth we have mentioned. Bishop Porteous, who as chaplain must have had opportunities of judging, records that Secker set a very good example to the flock under him by his treatment of his household and domestic servants: many of them, we are told, he suffered to continue with

their families in his house after they were married. None of them were discharged on account of sickness or infirmity, but were assisted with the best advice that could be had at a great yearly expense. By his will he left £1000—a large sum in those days—to be distributed amongst his servants, besides £200 to such indigent persons as he had assisted in his lifetime. The last sermon he preached was at Stockwell Chapel in the parish of Lambeth, to which, as we have said, he had been a very great benefactor.

To Secker must be assigned a very high, if not the highest, place among the English primates of the eighteenth century. With the exception possibly of Wake and Tenison he was the ablest and best of them.

He had critics, perhaps we should say enemies; as what man, certainly what good man, in a prominent place has not? Among them were Thomas Hollis, whose attitude towards Secker we have already dealt with, Horace Walpole, Francis Blackburne, William King, Principal of St. Mary Hall, a strange man of Jacobite sympathies, who delivered a Latin oration at the opening of the Radcliffe Library at Oxford in 1749, and published in his old age a book of "political and literary anecdotes of his own times." He disliked Presbyterians, and spoke against Secker and also Chandler, Bishop of London, who are, he says, "both converts from presbytery. They are frequent preachers," he goes on, "but the cant of their education renders their discourses very disagreeable to a good ear. Their parts are moderate, and nearly equal; but their characters are very different."[1] He then goes on to praise Chandler. But this criticism seems accounted for by dislike of one who started life as a Nonconformist; and the fact that he finds fault with Secker's sermons —his strongest point—makes the criticism of little weight. Gilbert Wakefield calls Secker "an imperious and persecuting prelate," but, as Dr. Stoughton

[1] King's *Anecdotes*, p. xiv.

remarks, he and King "are prejudiced witnesses."[1] According to Horace Walpole, Secker was a sycophant, a hanger-on to princes and potentates royal and otherwise, of the world worldly. Even so good a man as Bishop Hurd in his *Life of Warburton* decries him. But the testimony of Walpole is not to be relied on, as we have shown elsewhere. The sneer that his Act Sermon was without citations of Scripture may be admitted: this, however, may be accounted for by the special subject of the discourse; if intended to mean that his sermons generally were so, it is untrue. In one of his published sermons taken by chance the writer found twenty-five quotations from Scripture, in another fifteen. Of Bishop Hurd's criticism of Secker the following is a history. In 1738 Warburton, the great controversialist and Defender of Christianity, afterwards Bishop of Gloucester, published his *Divine Legation of Moses*, the thesis of which was that the absence from the Mosaic precepts of any future state of reward and punishment proved those precepts to be of Divine origin. Warburton was a widely read man, of almost cumbrous learning; but his spirituality was small and his ideas on Church matters on a low and inadequate level; and his combativeness was tremendous. Dr. Johnson says: "Warburton by extending his abuse rendered it ineffectual."[2] Hurd was a man of a more genial kind, but he owed his advancement to Warburton and became his champion. Canon Perry[3] suggests that some of the apologetics for Christianity of Warburton and his like did more harm than good. Certainly the *Divine Legation* found many critics. Secker, in his usual exhaustive style, published some notes on the book; Warburton reprinted the *Divine Legation* in 1758, a year or two before his elevation to the episcopate, with answers to these or such of them as he thought deserving of answer. It is these notes which Bishop Hurd has thought fit to

[1] *Religion in England under Queen Anne and the Georges*, i. 262.
[2] Boswell's *Johnson*, v. 69. [3] *History of English Church*, iii. 37.

insert in his *Life of Warburton*, prefixed to the voluminous edition of Warburton's works. "Dr. Secker," he says, "was a wise man, an edifying preacher, and an exemplary bishop. But the course of his life and studies had not qualified him to decide on such a work as that of the *Divine Legation*. Even in the narrow walk of literature he most affected, that of criticizing the Hebrew text, it does not appear that he attained to any great distinction. His chief merit (and surely it was a very great one) lay in explaining clearly and popularly in his sermons the principles delivered by his friend Bishop Butler in his famous book of the *Analogy*, and in shewing the importance of them to religion."[1] It must be remembered that Dr. Lowth, Bishop of London, whom Mr. Hore calls "a Prelate, equalled by few, and surpassed by none of his time,"[2] certainly proved by his work on Isaiah to have been a very learned divine—perhaps because he had fallen foul of Warburton—is criticised and vilified by Hurd. Secker was a good Hebrew scholar, and was acknowledged as such not only by Lowth, but by Kennicott and Merrick, and on the whole Hurd's criticism is not worthy of much attention.

In personal appearance Secker's biographers describe him as "tall and comely," in early life slender and rather consumptive. But in later life he gained in portliness, though "never to a degree of corpulency that was disproportionate or troublesome." If Sir Joshua Reynolds' picture at Lambeth is to be trusted, his expression was genial and intelligent. But his biographers have to admit "that he was not always equally affable and obliging." He was sometimes reserved and cold.[3] It is fair to remark that there are persons towards whom an attitude of this character in a Primate would be appropriate. Those who fell foul of Secker charged him with pride. His biographers, who

[1] See *Life of Warburton*, i. 69. [2] Hore, i. 594.
[3] Porteous' *Life of Secker*, p. lxi.

as his chaplains knew him well, attribute his hauteur to very different causes, sometimes to bodily pain, which he often felt when he did not own it, sometimes to fatigue, sometimes to " accidental uneasiness arising in the course of business."

The *Gentleman's Magazine*, of contemporary accounts, is too flattering to be as useful as it might. It says :

" His Grace's person was tall and graceful ; his countenance open and benevolent ; his conversation cheerful, entertaining, and instructive ; his temper even and humane. He was kind and steady to his friends, liberal to his dependants, a generous protector of virtue and learning. He performed all the sacred functions of his calling with a dignity and devotion that affected all who heard him. He was a most laborious and useful parish priest, a vigilant and active bishop, and presided over the Church in a manner that did equal honour to his abilities and his heart. He was particularly eminent as a plain, pathetic, practical preacher ; and well knowing the great ability of so excellent a talent he was not sparing in the exercise of it, but continued preaching and catechising whenever his health would permit him to the latest period of his life."

As we have stated, his more violent critics hint that Secker was a humbug. There are weighty facts on the other side. Martin Benson, Bishop of Gloucester, would be counted a saintly man in any age ; it is unlikely that his lifelong bosom friend should be a religious humbug. May not the same be said in respect to the friendship between Secker and the great Bishop Butler ? Secker's friend, chaplain, and biographer, Porteous was a man of piety and the highest goodness and no fool withal. His panegyric of Secker may be so universal as to make it difficult for a critical mind not to discount his estimate somewhere, and to some extent. But it would be impossible for Porteous to have written of Secker as he has if the archbishop were the faulty person his enemies would have us account him.

He was a scholar and the friend and patron of scholars. Of the Latin that he had read as a young man enough remained to enable him, after forty years' disuse, and when nearly seventy, to compose a Latin oration for Convocation when it met in 1761 to present an address to the new King.

He was the first promoter and throughout a liberal supporter of Dr. Kennicott's learned *Collation of the Hebrew Manuscripts of the Old Testament*. Newcastle had written to the archbishop about the work of Kennicott, who applied for help from the Government. Secker replies: "His scheme is to compare exactly together all the MSS of the Hebrew Bible which are at Oxford and Cambridge and in the British Museum, amounting at least to one hundred and ten, in order to the publication of a more accurate text. A work of this kind hath been long desired by the friends of Religion and Learning throughout Europe." After mentioning Father Houbiganti's work, he says: "But Dr. Kennicott's if completed will outdo not only his but all the rest of the same nature put together, and will lay the groundwork of a standard edition of the Old Testament for the future." He asks that His Majesty will "make Kennicott partaker of his Royal Bounty, as Queen Anne did Dr. Mill for his work on the New Testament."[1]

The archbishop a few days later, through Newcastle, asks the patronage of Cambridge University for Kennicott's work.[2] If the Church or any other good cause wanted something written on its behalf and his own pen was not, as it often was, available, Secker could put his finger on the best man for the job and made him do it.

Secker was a High Churchman—in the eighteenth-century sense, if not exactly in the sense which the closing decades of the nineteenth century have attached to the title. To him the Church was no mere

[1] Addl. MSS, Brit. Mus., 32902, f. 104. [2] *Ubi supra*, 32902, f. 147.

congeries of believing men and women but a divinely appointed organisation, of which Episcopacy was the essential element, and whose ministrations and sacraments were God's normal way of salvation. The sects were not fellow-workers moving on lines converging on the same goal, but wanderers. In his first charge as archbishop he said: "The main support of piety and morals consisted in the parochial labours of the clergy: and if this country could be preserved from utter profligateness and ruin it must be by these means." These were his tenets, though we shall see that in practice he was on most kindly terms with individual Dissenters. It was his views of the validity and sanctity of Episcopal ordination that guided his conduct with reference to appointing bishops for America, and that made him the champion of the Scottish Episcopal clergy, when it was sought in 1748 to invalidate their clerical status unless they could produce Letters of Orders from an English or an Irish bishop. As archbishop, he was careful of the clergy, to encourage the deserving and to keep out the undesirable. In his first charge as archbishop he dwells on the importance of strictness in giving testimonials to candidates for Orders. "We must," he said, "depend on regular testimonials—every part of which ought to be considered before it is given, and no consideration paid to neighbourhood, acquaintance, friendship, compassion, importunity, when they stand in competition with truth." He is said to have insisted on curates being licensed in the diocese, and to have had a black book and a white book: once in the black book no influence however powerful could get you preferment from him. Young clergy of good character he encouraged. A relative left him a library of Divinity; he had it divided by the archdeacon and one or two more into three parts, and these were given to three "studious and regular" young clergymen for their encouragement in study.

He was a strong opponent of the Latitudinarians. The Christian faith embodied in the Creeds, as Secker believed, was to be accepted—not pared down, even though such paring removed difficulties from some minds. For instance, any proposal to relax the doctrine of the eternity of punishment met with but cold support from Secker. In one of his letters written in 1744–5, while Bishop of Oxford, to thank the great Dr. Isaac Watts for a copy of his *Discourses on the World to Come*, after commending Watts' great services to religion and saying he had made a valuable addition to them in the book he had then been pleased to send him, he goes on : " particularly by what you have written in so strong and awful, yet so compassionate and good-natured a manner in defence of the Scripture doctrine concerning the duration of future punishments." [1]

He distrusted the forsaking of dogma. In one of his letters to his " good " friend Johnson, at New York, from Lambeth, he says :

" The distinguishing doctrines of the Gospel which we in this country have neglected too much and dwelt disproportionately on morality and natural religion, whence the Methodists have taken advantage to decry in us and gain followers."

He had no sympathy with Bishop Hoadly, and spoke of some Broad Church writers as being Christians if at all only *secundum usum* Winton : Hoadly being Bishop of Winchester at the time.

Unlike his predecessor Hutton, he was no friend to the leading Broad Churchman of the period, Archdeacon Blackburne. Bishop Butler's charge in 1751 lamenting the decay of external religion had been met by the publication of *A Serious Enquiry into the Use and Importance of External Religion*, in which many Church usages were called superstitious. It came out anonymously, but Secker's vigilance discovered Black-

[1] Gibbon's *Memoirs of Dr. Watts*, p. 355.

burne as the author. In 1766 Blackburne published, also anonymously, his great work, *The Confessional*. It sought to show that subscription, *i.e.*, the requiring by the Church of England of assent by its members clerical or lay to a body of propositions on religion expressed in human language, could not be justified.

The author expresses himself as follows :

"The sum of the whole matter is this : place your Church-authority in what hands you will and limit it with whatever restrictions you think proper, you cannot assert to it a right of deciding in controversies of faith and doctrine, or in other words a right to require assent to a certain sense of Scripture, exclusive of other senses, without an unwarrantable interference with those rights of private judgment which are manifestly secured to every individual by the scriptural terms of Christian liberty and thereby contradicting the original principles of the Protestant Reformation."[1]

Canon Perry says that *The Confessional* was "a thorough exposition and elaborate defence of the Latitudinarian movement." It attacked, curiously enough, the Broad Church position that subscription was a general assent only to Church doctrine as a whole, and went on to object to authoritative confessions of faith and Subscription of any kind. There were honourable names, such as Dr. Edmund Law, Bishop of Carlisle, and Paley, among Blackburne's allies and supporters. But to Secker's orthodoxy *The Confessional* was utterly repugnant. He procured answers to be written to the book, one by Dr. Gloucester Ridley being prominent. He is even said to have written one of the "Three Letters to the Author of *The Confessional*" himself.

For work Secker had an insatiable appetite. "He rose at six," says Bishop Porteous, "all the year round, and had often spent a busy day before others began to enjoy it." Bishop Newton, who succeeded

[1] *The Confessional*, 3rd ed., 1770, p. 50.

him both at Bristol and St. Paul's, says : " He was not only a most learned divine, but was likewise a most indefatigable and exact man in all kinds of business."[1] Speaking of Bristol, Newton says that in his day all knowledge of the diocese was derived from his books and accounts.

There is in the library at Lambeth a Register of Visitation Returns from the parishes in the archdiocese of Canterbury which gives strong proof of what a hard worker he was and how scrupulously careful a diocesan. The parishes are arranged under deaneries ; particulars are given of the churches, the accommodation they supply, the numbers of inhabitants, the services on Sundays and other days ; the frequency of communions and numbers of communicants, and many other details. Scarcely anything could be imagined more useful to a succeeding diocesan or vicar : and this all, or nearly all, in Secker's own excellent handwriting.

He is said to have been fond of riding ; and to have been very moderate in eating and drinking. Of personal idiosyncrasies one was the habit of calling every one he addressed " Good." A lord about the Court of very evil life being so addressed by the archbishop, answered : " I am a very wicked fellow ; why do you call me good ? " It is curious that in the selection of letters from Secker, published by Nichols in his *Illustrations of Literature*,[2] in a considerable number the person addressed is called " Good Dr. Birch " or " Good Madam."

He was undoubtedly generous with his money. He was hospitable, as a bishop should be, but is said to have thought it right " to discountenance as far as he could all luxurious elegancies." He would never give into " several fashionable accommodations," nor admit extraordinary delicacies to his table, nor even accept them when offered to him.

[1] Newton's *Life and Anecdotes*, p. 117. [2] Vol. iii. 488, 492.

He bestowed many benefactions in the county of Kent and elsewhere; giving large sums towards the repair of decayed vicarage houses and for relief of the distressed. When asked to support a useful public subscription he gave, say his chaplains, "much more than they expected; and they were frequently withheld from repeating their solicitations through fear not of being denied but of trespassing too far on a liberality that knew no bounds." [1] His private charity was very great. He gave eight pounds to the church or chapel at Sheerness towards purchasing proper communion plate; "which had before," says the Chronicler, "been usually borrowed from a public-house in the neighbourhood."

A story is told of him that a German divine of the Calvinistical profession who had applied for relief to build a church abroad to the Kirk of Scotland and to Dissenters in England about 1762 with little success, applied at last to the archbishop. "He received him with so much civility and humanity, accosting him in a familiar manner in French, of which language he was a perfect master, that it raised the foreigner's admiration." The archbishop assisted him, it is said, more effectually than the kirk had done.

Secker was a consistent supporter of the Revolution, and, in spite of his strong Churchmanship, had no trace of Jacobitism in his composition. His sermon on the victory over the Pretender at Culloden is full of fire. It is one of Hollis' charges against him that he left popery unnoticed—widespread, intolerant, overturning popery. But this is without foundation; his published sermons contain a course of five against popery —as vigorous as any of his discourses. Rome was to him dangerous civilly and religiously, and he opposed it by speech and action. He supported Lord Radnor's motion for an inquiry into the Roman Catholic numbers in the kingdom. He is glad to write to Newcastle that

[1] Porteous' *Life of Secker*, p. lx.

only two hundred and seventy-one were returned in the two hundred and forty-nine parishes of his own diocese, and only sixty-eight thousand for all the dioceses.[1]

But in spite of his love for rigid orthodoxy, Secker was friendly with many individual Dissenters. He distrusted, like so many good men of his time, the enthusiasm of the Methodists, fearing lest it should be evanescent and thin ; and in his second archiepiscopal charge he advised his clergy as to their attitude towards them.

A letter of advice to a clergyman on his son's becoming a Calvinist gives a picture of his ideas on such matters :

" Lambeth, *3rd November* 1767.

" Sir,—I am very sorry that your son hath given you cause of uneasiness ; but as a zeal of God, though in part not according to knowledge, influences him his present state is far better than that of a profane or vicious person, and there is ground to hope that through the divine blessing on your mild instructions and affectionate expostulations he may be gradually brought into a temper every way Christian. Perhaps he and you differ even now less than you imagine ; for I have observed that the Methodists and their opposers are apt to think too ill of each other's notions. Our clergy have dwelt too much upon mere morality, and too little on the peculiar doctrines of the Gospel ; and hence they have been charged with being more deficient in this last respect than they are, and even with disbelieving, or however slighting, the principal points of revelation. They in turn have reproached their accusers with enthusiastic imaginations, irrational tenets, and disregard to the common social duties of which many of them perhaps are little if at all guilty. . . .—Yr loving brother,

" Tho. Cant."

With men like Watts, Doddridge, his old schoolmate Chandler, and Lardner, the correspondence still extant shows him to have maintained over many years an intimate friendship. He seems to have received

[1] Addl. MSS, Brit. Mus., 32986, f. 323.

from time to time from the author copies of the books that emanated from the fruitful pen of Isaac Watts. The following letter was written to thank for a copy of Watts' *Improvement of the Mind; or, A Supplement to the Art of Logics* :

"CUDDESDON, NEAR OXFORD,
June 19, 1741.

"SIR,—I am extremely obliged to you for the agreeable present of your book, which is peculiarly adapted for the direction and improvement of students in the University, where your Logic is by no means the only piece of yours that is read with high esteem. You have been a diligent promoter of useful and especially religious knowledge of Christian faith and Christian morals. On these accounts I have always respected you from the time that I had so many years ago the advantages of your conversation, and always rejoiced in the just honour that has been universally paid you ; and as this opportunity of expressing my regard gives me much pleasure, so if the favour of letting me see you next winter will not be inconvenient to you it will be a great satisfaction to, Sir, Your affectionate humble Servant,

"THO. OXFORD."[1]

Two years later Secker writes again to Isaac Watts to thank him for his Essay towards the Encouragement of Sunday Schools :

"CUDDESDON, *September* 14, 1743.

"SIR,—I heartily thank you for your obliging letter, and had I known that you had printed a sermon on the subject, I should not have failed to enrich my own from it. I hope the things I have said in favour of our Charity Schools are true. I hope the Christians of this nation in general are grown much milder towards each other, and I am sure we have great need to gain in this virtue what we lose in others and become a more united body as we become a smaller, which I apprehend we do. But fear not, little flock. May God direct and bless us all in our poor endeavours to serve Him ! May He give you every needful support under your long sickness, and restore you speedily to your former usefulness if it be

[1] Gibbons' *Memoirs of Watts*, 353.

His holy will. I am with great esteem, Sir, Your affectionate and faithful, humble Servant,

"THO. OXFORD."

Two letters written to Philip Doddridge in 1743 and 1745 give us a pretty good idea of Secker's feelings and opinions on the question of closer reunion with Nonconformity.

In the former of these, dated from Cuddesden, 29th September 1743, he says :

"Indeed, it must and ought to be owned in general that the Dissenters have done excellently of late years in the service of Christianity ; and I hope our common warfare will make us chiefly attentive to our common interest and will unite us in a closer alliance."[1]

To the same correspondent he writes, 21st February 1744–5 :

"Your favourable opinion of the Church of England gives me no surprise but much pleasure. And as I agree with you heartily in wishing that such things as we think indifferent, and you cannot be brought to think lawful, were altered or left free, in such a manner as that we might all unite ; so I have no reason to believe that any one of the Bishops wishes otherwise ; and I know some that wish it strongly whom, I fear, many of the Dissenters take to be of a different spirit ; nor, perhaps, were the body of the Clergy ever so well disposed to it as now. But still I see not the least prospect of it ; for they who should be most concerned for it are most of them too little so. And of others few that have influence think it can be worth while either to take any pains or spend any time about matters of this nature ; and too many judge the continuance of a separation useful to their particular schemes. Among these last the enemies of Religion are apt to consider the Dissenters as their allies against the Established Church. But as I hope they will never have cause to join in any designs against it, so I am fully persuaded they will never think a combination with such persons justifiable either in point of prudence or of conscience."[2]

[1] Nichols' *Illustrations of Literature*, 484.
[2] Doddridge's *Correspondence*, iv. 270, 381.

In a letter to Lardner, dated 5th December 1750, he thus discusses the terms of Communion with Nonconformists :

" What the terms of Communion thus necessary and requisite are, all Churches and, so far as they are concerned, all persons must judge for themselves . . . he who thinks more things necessary should neither treat those ill who believe fewer nor rank them with total unbelievers. . . . On the other hand, he who believes fewer things to be necessary should neither censure those who believe more to be so as tyrannical or uncharitable merely because they dare not acknowledge him to be what according to the best judgment they can form he is not."[1]

" To several foreign Protestants," says Bishop Porteous, " he allowed pensions, to others he gave occasional relief, and to some of their universities was an annual benefactor."

We have mentioned that Dr. Mayhew of Boston wrote a pamphlet expressing strongly the repugnance of the American Dissenters to the appointment of bishops for the American Colonies. Perhaps the following passage from almost the end of his answer to Mayhew deserves to be quoted as showing Secker's real feeling and line of thought towards Nonconformists :

" Our inclination is to live in friendship with all the Protestant Churches. We assist and protect those on the Continent of Europe as well as we are able. We show our regard to that of Scotland as often as we have an opportunity and believe the members of it are sensible that we do. To those who differ from us in this part of the kingdom we neither attempt nor wish any injury ; and we shall gladly give proofs to every denomination of Christians in our Colonies that we are friends to a toleration even of the most intolerant as far as it is safe ; and willing that all mankind should possess all the advantages religious and civil which they can demand either in law or reason."

[1] Lardner's *Life*, p. cl.

Secker's episcopal and archiepiscopal charges deserve a word from his biographer. There are eight of them—five delivered while Bishop of Oxford, and three as Primate. In the first, delivered in 1738, he takes a gloomy view of the position of religion in general. "An open and profess'd disregard of religion is become the distinguishing character of the present age." He urges study on the clergy. What may be a very good beginning is by no means a sufficient stock to go on with. This charge Secker liked and thought well of. It was reprinted and distributed from Canterbury in 1758. From his charge of 1741 it seems that choirs were a trouble to the clergy even in those days. "If," says the bishop, "in order to instruct your people in the way of singing, meetings to practise out of Church time be requisite, you will keep a strict watch over them that they be managed with all possible decency and never continued till candle-light if they be of both sexes. You will likewise discountenance at least all frequent meetings between the singers of different parishes and making appointments to sing alternately at one another's churches; for this wandering from their own, which by law they ought to keep to, usually leads them into excesses and follies."

The next three charges deal with simony, resignation bonds, tithes, and repairs of churches and parsonages. He alludes to the duty of the clergy at county elections, "seasons of epidemical unreasonableness and licentiousness."

We get a picture in his 1762 charge, delivered after he was archbishop, of the evils attendant on the private baptisms so common among the upper classes at that time. He says: "Baptism when administered in private houses without necessity is too often treated even during the administration rather as an idle ceremony than Christian sacrament; or, however that be, is close followed by very unsuitable if not otherwise also indecent levity and jollity. They should support

the solemnity of the ordinance and either prevent improprieties in the sequel or, if it be doubtful, whether he can excuse himself with a civil intimation of the unfitness of them from being present."

On clerical dress he says, " a habit, visibly a clergyman's, must have no effeminacy or love of finery in it." The archbishop condemned in his clergy, " softness and delicacy of manner, skill in the science of eating and the perfection of liquors." We are reminded of Dr. Young in *Mansfield Park*.

The advice on sermons of such a master of preaching is in two of his later charges and is worth quoting :

" Make your sermons extremely clear ; employ the lowest expressions, provided they are not ridiculous, rather than not be understood ; let your sentences and the parts of them be short where you can ; never multiply beyond necessity, for they will only tire ; abstain from weak ones for they will only discredit the strong ; employ no arguments to prove things which need not be proved, for you will only make them doubtful."

Extempore preaching he touches on wisely :

" What we say in such a manner as to make it seem the present desire of our own hearts will much better make its way into the hearts of others, than if our eyes are fixed all the while on a paper from which we visibly recite the whole. . . . But there must be a long and diligent preparation to do this well. Some will scarce ever attain sufficient presence of mind or readiness of expression, and others will acquit themselves handsomely in a good flow of spirits, but meanly when these fail them. If some get the faculty of being always able to say something plausible, it will tempt them to neglect the improvement of their understandings and discourses, and to be content with digressing whensoever they are at a loss from their text and their subject to any point on which they can be copious ; to utter offhand such crudities as they could not bear to write down."

He is not opposed to preaching a sermon several times with revision : " by looking over it a few times when you are about to use it you may deliver it almost without being observed to read it." He favours preaching from notes : " perhaps, duly managed, the best plan of all." He alludes to the practice common among foreigners of learning their sermons by heart. The plan is " not only," he says, " unreasonably laborious, but subjects persons to the hazard of stopping disagreeably and even breaking off abruptly for want of memory ; or if they escape that danger, there still remains another, of saying their lesson with ungraceful marks of fear and caution." He would like to add some " occasional instructions," but adds sadly, " my strength will not suffice."

He printed some instructions given to candidates for Orders after their subscribing the Articles. They had a phenomenal popularity. No less than fifty editions were published in half a century.

His other literary remains are considerable. Two volumes of occasional sermons were published in his lifetime ; his lectures on the Church Catechism, his charges and four volumes of sermons after his death ; he also left to the Lambeth Library a number of learned manuscript pieces, including an interleaved English Bible with many suggestions for improvement of the English Version ; a Hebrew Bible with comparisons of the ancient versions and emendations ; two folio volumes of notes upon Daniel, and many other pieces such as we should expect from a prelate who was at once so learned and so industrious.

FREDERICK CORNWALLIS

1768–1783

Before Secker died England had come under the rule of George III., who succeeded his grandfather on the 25th October 1760. For the purposes of the ecclesiastical historian this change of monarch is of great importance. The position which George III. took up as regards the Church, and as regards the appointment of archbishops and bishops, was quite different from that of his predecessors. Personally, he was widely different from them. George I. had a certain sly sharpness: he was immoral: he was a German. George II. had some courage as a soldier, though not so much as he credited himself with, and he obeyed his able wife; otherwise he was immoral; and his heart was throughout his life, like his father's, in Hanover, and he was stupid. George III. was an Englishman: he was obstinate, and his intellectual outlook was narrow; he lost England the American Colonies, though we of the twentieth century may doubt if she could ever have kept them: he upheld slavery; but his domestic and personal morality was high. He set a good example in his home, and to his subjects. His ideas of his duty towards God and his neighbour were strong and right, and he regarded the Established Church of England as supplying the best, if not the only effective, aids to the discharge of these duties, and the British Constitution of King, Lords, and Commons as the best mode of government the world had known. To his mind no duty was of higher importance than the selection of the Church's chief officers.

And yet it is a melancholy truth that in the first and second Primates of George III. we reach the lowest point in the period of which we are chroniclers. It is a descent from Secker—a vast descent from Wake—to Cornwallis and Moore. At the same time it would not be fair to blame George III. entirely for the inferiority of these two prelates. When Cornwallis was appointed, the King was still very young and largely in the hands of Ministers perhaps uncongenial to him. It was the system or rather the prevalent views of Church preferment or patronage that were to blame. As has been well said, "Britain in the eighteenth century was ruled by a Venetian oligarchy . . . a few family clans composed the governing classes of the period—the leaders of the great families were found constantly in the higher and their relatives in the lower posts of each Government."[1] And to this régime the Church, alas! was no exception. If a scion of a great family had no taste for war or diplomacy, the Church should provide for him. It was almost avowedly a department of the State. Any idea of an organisation of spiritual forces and of its officers, as those who should develop, promote, and guide those forces, was wholly wanting alike in the givers and in the recipients of Church patronage. Learning in a bishop had been known to give trouble: zeal was certainly dangerous. This idea of the highest offices in the Church had a degrading effect on the bishops and archbishops themselves; Cornwallis, as we shall see, not only asked for a particular bishopric, but was angry that he did not receive exactly the bit of patronage he wanted. Moore developed a shameful nepotism, hurrying on his possession of the archiepiscopal temporalities that he might give a good archbishop's living, that was dropping, to his sister's husband.

We shall deal hereafter in detail with what can be ascertained regarding Cornwallis' appointment to the archbishopric of Canterbury. Canon Perry, in his

[1] Warner and Martin's *Groundwork of British History*, 479.

History of the English Church, says: "Archbishop Cornwallis appears to have had no Churchmanlike scruples, and was simply of the character of a great nobleman about the Court." Making due allowance for the religious laxity of the second half of the eighteenth century, it is hard to challenge seriously this verdict.

Frederick Cornwallis was the seventh son of Charles, fourth Lord Cornwallis. He was brother to the first Earl Cornwallis, and uncle to the celebrated first Marquis and to James, Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry. He was a twin-brother of General Edward Cornwallis, and Cole relates that the twin-brothers were so alike when at Eton that it was difficult to know them asunder.

The family of Cornwallis, or as it was anciently spelt Cornwallys or Cornwaleys, was established at Brome Hall near Eye in Suffolk in the fourteenth century. The founder of the family in England was Sheriff of London in 1378. He settled in Suffolk, and his son and grandson represented the county in Parliament. A successor, Sir Frederick Cornwallis, who had followed the fortunes of Charles I. and Charles II., was in 1661 created Baron Cornwallis of Eye.

Charles, the fourth lord, the father of the archbishop, was Lord Lieutenant of the county of Suffolk, and postmaster-general and paymaster of the Forces. He had many sons, of whom three were Charles the fifth lord, Frederick the archbishop, and his twin, Edward. The fifth lord married, in 1722, Elizabeth, daughter of Charles, second Viscount Townshend, brother-in-law and for many years colleague of the Prime Minister, Sir Robert Walpole. We shall see that between the families of Cornwallis and Townshend there were several ties of marriage. The fifth Lord was in 1753 created Earl Cornwallis. His sixth child, but eldest son Charles, was a man of very sound common sense, with a strong sense of justice, and rendered most distinguished service to his country all over the world. He commanded the English forces in America

in the War of Independence, and, more from bad luck than his fault, was compelled to surrender at Yorktown, thus finally disposing of any hope of crushing the American people into subjection. As Governor-General of India he defeated Tippoo, the son of Hyder Ali, and—more important—made the permanent settlement of land in Bengal. Under his Vice-royalty in Ireland the Act of Union was passed. Hundreds of his letters are extant, in which none are more delightful than those from the Viceroy of India to his son at Eton. He became first Marquis Cornwallis on 15th August 1792.

Archbishop Cornwallis was thus of noble birth, as well as connected with the great, being brother to an earl and uncle to a marquis, to say nothing of uncle to a bishop. He is said to have been the first Primate of high birth since Cardinal Reginald Pole.[1] The archbishop was born 22nd February 1713, and educated at Eton. While at Eton he had among his friends Charles Pratt, afterwards Lord Chancellor Camden, and Dr. Sneyd-Davies, a scholar and poet whom when bishop he appointed his chaplain, and with whom he corresponded and maintained a friendship throughout his life. Cornwallis was afterwards Fellow of Christ's College, Cambridge.[2] Here he was pupil to Dr. Edmund Law, a divine who made a good deal of stir in the eighteenth century, and who was successively archdeacon of Stafford, being appointed by his former pupil when Bishop of Lichfield, and in 1769 Bishop of Carlisle. The archbishop became B.A., 1736. When a young man at Cambridge, Cornwallis had a paralytic stroke, or, as it was called in the medical language of that day, a stroke of the palsy on his right side, from which he never recovered the full use of his right hand, and was obliged to write with his left, which he did very expeditiously, and, says Cole, "I have often had the honour to play at cards

[1] Cave Browne's *Lambeth*, 160.
[2] Nichols' *Illustrations of Literature*, i. 501.

with him when it was wonderful to see how dexterously he would shuffle and play them."

Cornwallis took his D.D. degree in 1748. He was evidently marked out for preferment. He was appointed one of H.M.'s chaplains and a canon of Windsor. Archbishop Herring in writing to the Duke of Newcastle on the 8th January 1749 speaking of his promotion, says of him: "By the character Dr. Cornwallis bears one has nothing more to wish but that his health may equal the goodness of his heart and understanding."[1]

In the winter of 1749–50, Cornwallis received the Bishopric of Lichfield and Coventry; the Duke of Newcastle was at the time the great dispenser of sees and judgeships, and was a connexion of the Cornwallis family. The fifth lord, shortly to be an Earl, was a man to be propitiated. The new bishop writes to Newcastle on the 6th January 1750: "I want words to express how much I am obliged to your Grace for the fresh instance of your regard and kindness to me." He will endeavour to please our friends in that diocese and to promote His Majesty's interest in those parts. . . . "I am sure," says the new bishop, "my brother will always remember that his obligation is solely to your Grace for this Bishopric."[2]

The times were sleepy; and in a letter to his old schoolmate, Sneyd-Davies, written a few years later and dated 31st June 1756, the bishop, after saying, as so many travellers about that time did, that in a journey through England he had never known the roads so bad in his life before, says: "There really is no stirring news. We are indeed preparing for war, which seems now to be inevitable,—but when or how or where it will be is not so certain."[3]

On 2nd June 1757 he writes to the same correspondent: "I believe there never was so extraordinary a

[1] Newcastle Corr., addl. MSS, Brit. Mus., 32700, f. 29.
[2] Addl. MSS, Brit. Mus., 32720, f. 17.
[3] Nichols' *Illustrations of Literature*, iii. 500.

winter as the last; no division in either House, no Ministry, no business done; and this at a time when the best counsels seemed most necessary. The Parliament adjourned till Monday next; by which time it is thought there will be a new Ministry fixed—though I do not find that anything is yet certain except that the Duke of Newcastle will be at the head of the Treasury again." In this the bishop's prognostication was fulfilled, for though Pitt was in power as Secretary of State, Newcastle returned to the Treasury. It takes the bishop three days to get down from London to Eccleshall. The bishop goes up to the meeting of Parliament in November 1758, reaching London "in good time" on the fourth day after losing one of his five horses—"poor Squeaker"—who dropped dead in his harness at Dunstable Hill. "Having a seventh horse," says Cornwallis, "it retarded us but little." The episcopal coach when loaded was presumably heavy. Of the new Session he says: "We met on Thursday with but thin houses. The speech was a good one, I think. . . . It is likely to be a quiet Session; as, it is said, we are all unanimous."

George II. was nearing his last short but fatal attack, but the writer was able to say: "The King has had a regular fit of the gout in his foot, and is now quite well; a strong instance of a hale constitution at 75; and in all probability it will prolong his life many years."

On the 8th February 1759 Cornwallis married Caroline, daughter of William Townshend, third son of Charles, second Viscount Townshend. He writes on 1st March 1759 to his friend Sneyd-Davies: "I return you many thanks for your kind congratulations upon my marriage; I shall be much mistaken, indeed, if it should not greatly advance my future comfort and happiness in life."[1] The new wife was a great lady, and his marriage brought the bishop, if he were not there already, into the highest social circles. The lady

[1] Nichols' *Illustrations of Literature*, iii. 502.

survived the archbishop for twenty-eight years, till September 1811, but he had no child by her. It is probable that in the eighteenth century, though the Primates included sons of tradesmen like Potter and Moore, a larger proportion of prelates were connected with the nobility than at the present time. In 1783 there were one baronet, three honourables, and a son of a duke or marquis on the Episcopal Bench. Birth and good family at least gave a promising man his opportunity. The families of Cornwallis and Townshend were closely connected by marriage—one aunt of the archbishop's wife having married the archbishop's elder brother, the first Earl Cornwallis, and another aunt having married the archbishop's twin-brother. Charles Townshend, of whom it was said he is the orator, the rest are speakers, and who was Chancellor of the Exchequer under Chatham in 1766, was first cousin of the archbishop's wife.

In September 1759 we get an interesting picture of life in the district of Eccleshall in a letter from the bishop to his old school friend. Apparently a supine movement had spread from Parliament to the country at large. "We have been endeavouring," says the bishop, "to establish a County Hospital, but I fear it will not do. There is money enough subscribed, but then there is a supineness and inactivity towards the executive part of it that must frustrate it."

It is a disagreeable feature of the disposal of Church patronage at this period—consequent on the views prevalent touching such matters to which we have alluded—that posts were often asked for long before the holders of them were dead. Cornwallis was not satisfied with his Bishopric of Lichfield and Coventry, and on the 26th September 1759 he writes to Newcastle:

"The Bishop of Worcester is very ill. I hope your Grace will pardon my troubling you with this, barely to mention without importuning that a removal to that

see would be most agreeable to your Grace's most obliged and most humble servant,

"FRED LICH. AND COV."[1]

Newcastle replied a week later that he had to give Worcester to the Bishop of Gloucester. Cornwallis was angry at this, as we shall see, and spoke of the "loss he had sustained."

In May 1762 the Duke of Newcastle fell out with Bute, and for the first time resigned. Horace Walpole, in a letter to Geo. Montagu, remarks sarcastically that "all bishops are prophets, they foresee that he will never come into place again, for there was but one that had the decency to take leave of him" (at his parting levee) "after crowding his rooms for forty years together. It was Cornwallis."

There are but few traces of Cornwallis' activities at Lichfield; but we find him helping the efforts of Archbishop Secker to improve the collection of Diocesan Records at Lambeth by sending particulars of endowments of vicarages in the Diocese of Lichfield and Coventry.

In March 1764 the great Lord Hardwicke died, and Cambridge was excited over the election of a High Steward in his place. Lord Mahon says "that no sooner was his dangerous illness known than two candidates declared themselves: the first was Lord Hardwicke's son, Lord Royston, the second Lord Sandwich. It grew to be in some measure a trial of strength between the Opposition and the Government."[2] At the head of the Government was Lord Grenville, who had succeeded Bute as Prime Minister in 1763. John Wilkes and General Warrants were the topics of the day. Lord Sandwich was a Minister, having been at the Admiralty and then Secretary of State. The Opposition included Pitt, who had declined office. Of Sandwich, Professor Laughton says

[1] Addl. MSS, Brit. Mus., 32896, ff. 122, 218; 32940, f. 239.
[2] *History*, v. 60.

though admitting that he was esteemed and loved by his subordinates at the Admiralty: "No public man of the last century was the mark of such bitter, such violent invective." He certainly does not seem to have been the man to be Lord High Steward of the University of Cambridge. The way he got his nickname of "Jimmy Twitcher" shows this. Wilkes had composed a parody on Pope's "Essay on Man," which he called an "Essay on Woman," and which he inscribed to Sandwich, as Pope had inscribed his "Essay on Man" to Bolingbroke. Sandwich called attention to this, as a scandalous libel, in the House of Lords, and the House asked for a prosecution. But popular feeling was against Sandwich. His private life, says Lord Mahon, was known to be fully as irregular as Wilkes's, with whom he had been associated in the Licentious Brotherhood of Medmenham. In the *Beggars' Opera*, Macheath, at the crowning scene, says "that Jimmy Twitcher" (one of his confederates) "should peach does surprise me." When the play was performed at Covent Garden, the audience, with a unanimous shout of applause, applied the passage to Sandwich, and the name stuck to him. Of his opponent, the second Lord Hardwicke, Cooper's *Annals of Cambridge* says he was "Lord Lieutenant of Cambridgeshire, a Trustee of the British Museum, and honourably distinguished by his classical and historical learning." Cornwallis, who was interested in the affairs of his University, and was for the new Lord Hardwicke, seems to have been on the right side, and wrote to his friend Mr. Evans, who was arranging something like a "pair" with one Harwood. The bishop was cautious. Under date 20th March 1764:

"I received yours," he writes to Evans, "dated Winchester, the 14th inst., and approve very well of your compromise provided you can depend fully and securely upon your man. I do not know Mr. Harwood, but am aware that tricks have often been played upon such occasions; and though I can have no reason to suspect

him, yet think it necessary to use particular caution upon the present occasion from the arrangements that have already been made use of by our antagonist. If, therefore, you are sure Mr. Harwood is for Lord Sandwich, and will stay away, I shall be very glad to excuse you so long and fruitless a journey, and shall think myself equally obliged to you as if you had taken it. The election is put off till the 30th."

Horace Walpole having said in a previous letter that the election at Cambridge was to be on the 24th, writes on Tuesday, 27th March : "The busier world are devoting attention to the election at Cambridge, which comes on next Friday ; and I think now Lord Sandwich's friends have little hopes. Had I a vote it would not be given for the new Lord Hardwicke."[1] The election ended strangely.[2] The votes appeared equal ; each proctor, they being of different sides, claimed a majority of one. In fact it was found that Hardwicke had a majority in the non-Regents of two, the Regent House being equally divided. He applied for a mandamus to the K.B., and said "one Pitt, who voted against him among the Regents, ought to have voted as a non-Regent, having been an M.A. for five years and more." His opponents objected, and also to five other Regent votes of squires, bedals, and others. There was a lawsuit, which gave the post to Lord Hardwicke.[3] So Cornwallis was on the winning side. Horace Walpole says that "the indecent arts and applications of the Twitcherites" roused the undergraduates to great enthusiasm for Lord Hardwicke.

At the end of 1765 a vacancy at Salisbury—considered a desirable bishopric—seemed imminent. Newcastle was embarrassed by his wife having in an unguarded moment promised it to Hume, Bishop of Oxford ; but in a letter to Archbishop Secker, dated the 23rd December, he admits "the much superior

[1] *Letters*, vi. 35. [2] Cooper's *Annals of Cambridge*, iv. 335.
[3] Burrow's *Reports*, iii. 1617.

pretensions to it of the Bishop of Litchfield, which, in a very modest manner and with the utmost respect to the Bishop of Oxford, he states in a very strong tho' very true light."[1] The vacancy at Salisbury did not come till six months later, in July 1766. Newcastle was then on the eve of giving up the Privy Seal, and Chatham was becoming Prime Minister, but Newcastle does not think this ought to hurt Cornwallis' chances; for on the 21st July he writes again to the archbishop that "the Bishop of Salisbury was dead, that the Duchess of Newcastle had been promised it for the Bishop of Oxford"; and adds, "Mr. Pitt, from my Lord Cornwallis' attachment to him, would, to be sure, be ready to serve his uncle the Bishop of Litchfield." Some one suggested that should Salisbury go to the Bishop of Oxford, the Deanery of St. Paul's, which Hume held or would be released, would be a solatium to Cornwallis. Secker seems to have been employed to sound the young King how he wished the posts filled, and on the 25th July the archbishop writes to Newcastle, "I am just come from Court. The King gives with the greatest cheerfulness and strongest expressions of regard for your Grace, Salisbury to Hume, Oxford to Lowth, St. David's to Moss, and the Deanery of St. Paul's to Cornwallis." Cornwallis was annoyed at not getting the Bishopric he wanted, angry with Newcastle, and at first refused the Deanery. Newcastle did not like the enmity of Cornwallis or of his family. From July 1765 to August 1766 he had the Privy Seal, and he was more or less in a position to give away ecclesiastical appointments. He thought he saw a way to restore Cornwallis' good humour. Ely was likely to be vacant, and Newcastle as Chancellor of Cambridge University had a special interest in the filling of that see. He writes to the archbishop on the 27th August; after mentioning the probable vacancy at Ely, he goes on: "The person wished for by the

[1] Addl. MSS, Brit. Mus., 32972, f. 320.

University and intended by me was the Bishop of Litchfield, and tho' the bishop and his whole Family have broke off all correspondence with me, that does not alter my opinion of his general merit. . . . The family of the Cornwallis's and Townshends are so attach'd to my Lord Chatham that I shd not think that he wd be against the Bishop of Litchfield." Secker sees the Prime Minister and reports that Chatham expressed a "great regard for the Cornwallis family, and understood the bishop to be a very worthy man." "I cannot," says the archbishop, "entertain the least doubt of his being fixed upon."

However, something went wrong, and somewhat sulkily Cornwallis fell back on the Deanery of St. Paul's *in commendam*, to which he was appointed on the 28th November 1766.

Newcastle was not usually wanting in tact, but, in an unwise moment, he congratulated Cornwallis on his Deanery. This was more than Cornwallis could stand, and he gave Newcastle a "bit of his mind" in a letter which is a disappointment to those who wish to form a high estimate of the future Primate.

"You say," says the angry prelate, "you are much rejoiced at my having accepted the Deanery of St. Paul's. For what reason I know not. As to myself I have no joy in it, I am not fond of expedients. Had the recommendation to it come from your Grace by way of atonement I shd have rejected the Deanery. After the hard treatment I had met with I could not with honour have accepted it. It is by no means a preferment either agreeable or suitable to me. It would have been kind of your Grace not to have kept me so long in suspense with regard to the Bishopric of Salisbury. Had you told me it was a real promise, it wd at least have mitigated the severity of the disappointment. You say it is the only instance, but seven years ago you gave Worcester to the Bishop of Gloucester. Surely, my Lord, the disregard then shew'd

to me may be allow'd to have given just cause of some dissatisfaction, at least not only to me but to my Family and Friends. It certainly did. You begged forgiveness: it was immediately granted, and the hardship forgotten. The late unfortunate circumstance brought it back to my mind."[1]

Cornwallis seems to have owed his elevation to the Primacy to the friendship of the Duke of Grafton—one writer has suggested—for his nephew, Earl Cornwallis, but more probably for himself and his family generally. At any rate there is some evidence of a personal friendship between Grafton and the archbishop. In his autobiography, Grafton speaks of him as "my friend"[2]; and, as we shall see, the account which Bishop Thomas Newton of Bristol, author of *Newton on Prophecy*, gives, clearly attributes Cornwallis' elevation to the Duke of Grafton. Augustus Henry, third Duke of Grafton and Prime Minister after Chatham, is a difficult character to gauge with complete fairness, though the late Sir Wm. Anson's edition of his autobiography has thrown much light on the man.[3] If half what Junius says of the Duke of Grafton be true, he was certainly not fit to nominate the head of any Church. He had at this time separated from his wife and formed an immoral connexion with Nancy Horton or Parsons. This he maintained for a time and was not ashamed to flaunt by appearing with her at the Opera while Prime Minister. But Sir Wm. Anson thinks he has not been treated with complete fairness by his biographers or historians. He thinks he was a nobleman with a high sense of public duty, with a real desire to use his powers and his position for the good of his country. His autobiography shows him, says Sir William Anson, "a man whom no biographer's enthusiasm could describe as a statesman of the first rank, and yet it sets before us a

[1] Addl. MSS, Brit. Mus., 32976, f. 458.
[2] *Autobiography*, 274.
[3] *Autobiography*, by Sir Wm. Anson, Bart., 1908.

character not very common in the eighteenth century."

In spite of his profligacy he took a strange interest in religious questions. Indeed, after his retirement from office in 1783 and for the last twenty-five years of his life Sir William Anson speaks of their having engrossed him. He was throughout unorthodox. He had rejected, when Chancellor of Cambridge, the degree of LL.D. through unwillingness to subscribe the Thirty-nine Articles. He tells himself in his autobiography, as we shall notice later, how he sympathised with the Feathers Tavern petition. On his retirement he became a professed Unitarian and was a regular attendant at Essex Street Chapel.

When Secker died the Duke was Prime Minister for the second time. Chatham had resigned his place as leader through illness, and North had not yet come into power; and in default of a first Minister to the mind of George III., Grafton held the post. Of candidates for the Primacy, Terrick, Bishop of London, was certainly in the eyes of some, if not of the public generally, one. Even before Secker's death, viz., in July 1768, Lyttelton, afterwards Bishop of Carlisle, a very learned antiquarian, writing to Dr. Ducarel of Lambeth, says: "The account you give me of the poor archbishop's condition makes me expect to hear of his death every post. I understand London will certainly remove to Canterbury."[1] Horace Walpole says rather spitefully, after Cornwallis had been appointed, "Terrick, Bishop of London, the most time-serving of the clergy, was sorely disappointed in missing the first mitre in England."

Bishop Newton, in his *Life and Anecdotes*, gives—though he says "not upon his own certain knowledge but upon as good authority as can usually be had in cases of this nature"—the following account of how Cornwallis got the Primacy: "When Mr. Grenville," who was a friend and patron of Newton, "heard of the

[1] Nichols' *Illustrations of Literature*, iii. 313.

death of Archbishop Secker he said upon it that if the Bishop of London, as then seemed most probable, should be translated to Canterbury, he was pretty confident Newton would go to London. The Duke of Grafton was at that time the first Minister, and he was determined to promote his friend Dr. Cornwallis, Bishop of Lichfield and Dean of St. Paul's, and proposed him for the Archbishopric of Canterbury. The King would have it first offered to his old preceptor the Bishop of Winchester." This was Dr. John Thomas, who in 1761 had been appointed Bishop of Winchester, and must not be confused with the other Dr. John Thomas, who in 1774 became Bishop of Rochester. "This," Bishop Newton goes on, "was readily complied with, as it was thought that Winchester would even be more agreeable to Bishop Cornwallis than Canterbury. But the Bishop of Winchester was unwilling to change his situation, and then mention was made of the Bishop of London, to which nothing was objected, as it was conceived that Bishop Cornwallis might make as good a Bishop of London as Bishop Compton, who was a very good one. But the King added that the Bishop of Bristol should succeed the Bishop of London. This would have disconcerted the whole plan of the Ministry, which was on the Duke of Grafton's part that Bishop Cornwallis should be promoted to either Canterbury or Winchester or London, and on Lord Gower's part that Bishop Egerton should succeed him as Bishop of Lichfield and in the Deanery of St. Paul's ; and the best game therefore they had to play was to resume their original design and to push Cornwallis for Canterbury, which was no sooner assented to than proposed."

The King insisted on Newton having St. Paul's. Bishop Cornwallis was thereupon declared Archbishop of Canterbury.

Poor Newcastle had wanted to make up his quarrel with the Cornwallis family. A year before he had written to the Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry that

he would "take every opportunity to make amends for an incident" (meaning the failure to give Cornwallis the Bishopric of Salisbury), "tho' at that time unavoidable, which gave him (Newcastle) as much concern as it did to" Cornwallis.[1] And now on the 12th August 1768 he writes again: "No one rejoices more in your promotion to Lambeth . . . acquaint the Duke of Grafton how much I approve the measure. I don't mean to take any merit to myself, for I have none."

Cornwallis answers: "I must own I feel myself very unequal to so high a station, and wish I could have declined it with propriety, but found I could not as things were circumstanced. All that can be done now is to exert my utmost endeavours to answer in some degree the favourable expectations my friends have entertained of me."[2] In some epochs—the present perhaps—a letter acknowledging an appointment to the high office of a bishop would be overful with pious and religious sentiments and expressions: Cornwallis' letter errs in our judgment on the other side. It would have suited without altering a word an appointment to a chief-justiceship.

On the 12th August, Dr. Cornwallis kissed hands on his appointment.[3] The appointment does not seem to have been looked for. Cornwallis himself, in a letter to his friend, Sneyd-Davies, written in September 1768, speaks of it as "my unexpected promotion." Mr. Charles Godwyn, a learned Fellow of Balliol, of episcopal descent, writing to a friend in August 1768 after commending some of Secker's literary work, says: "What learned works are we to expect from his successor? He himself is a person quite unexpected."[4]

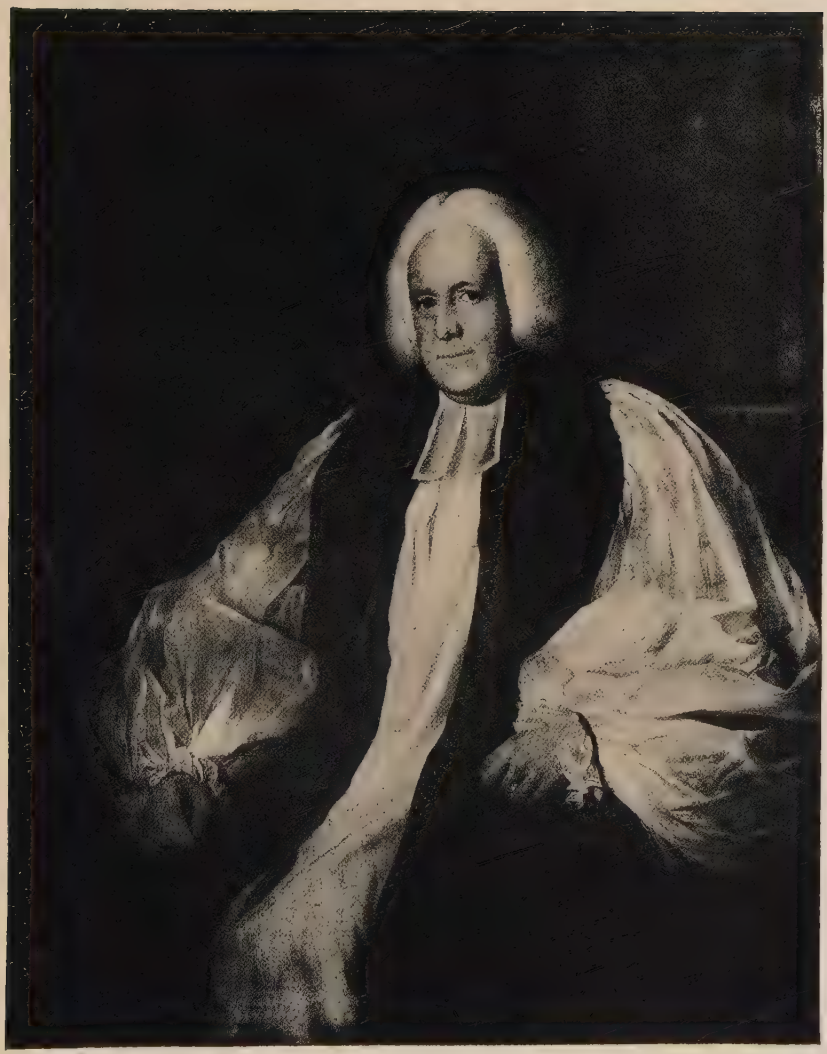
He was succeeded at Lichfield by his nephew, James Cornwallis. Lord Stanhope in his *Life of Pitt*, ii. 128, gives as an instance of the "unsatisfactory condition"

[1] Addl. MSS, Brit. Mus., 32990, f. 411.
[2] *Ubi supra*, f. 419.
[3] Nichols' *Illustrations of Literature*, i. 837.
[4] Nichols' *Literary Anecdotes*, viii. 255.

at that time of the Church of England and "the low tone of feeling" which prevailed, the letter of this same Bishop James to Pitt demanding, almost peremptorily, a particular piece of preferment. Pitt's answer, stating that "further intercourse was impossible until the letter was recalled," brought the bishop to his senses. Public opinion had but little opportunity in those days of expressing itself in the press; but the appointment seems to have excited a certain amount of unfavourable comment. In the number of the *Gentleman's Magazine* for September 1768, it says that "the clergy cannot be otherwise than idle if they see the boys of yesterday, if the sons or brothers of lords and others unknown in the republic of letters, fill the dignities of the Church" . . .; and the writer adds, "it may be said without offence that except the Bishops of Gloucester (Warburton), Bristol (Newton), and Oxford (Lowth), I do not recollect one dignitary of any rank, either bishop, dean, or prebendary, promoted within that period (the last seven years), that has ever obliged the world with one page of their writings."

But Cornwallis soon disarmed criticism by his politeness. Within two years of his coming to Canterbury one of the dignitaries there writes: "The archbishop gives great satisfaction to everybody here; his affability and courteous behaviour is much taken notice of as very different from his predecessor's." The same letter records that: "He marked his first visit to the city of his see by conferring three degrees immediately on alighting at the deanery."[1] We get a picture of Cornwallis just after his appointment in a letter from Dr. Ducarel to Bishop Lyttelton, dated 11th August 1768. After congratulating him on the appointment of Lyttelton's particular friend to Canterbury, Ducarel, who was also an Etonian, says of the new Primate: "The first Etonian (I think) who has attained to that high dignity. I paid my respects to him last night, and

[1] Nichols' *Illustrations of Literature*, iv. 647.



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he has been generously pleased to continue me librarian at Lambeth and received me with the greatest civility and friendship." The two went on to talk of the appointment of secretary to the archbishop—an office Ducarel told the new archbishop was worth between two hundred and three hundred a year, paid by fees—"generally executed by a deputy who received a third part for his trouble"—the principal being generally a relation or a friend—the last two were both nephews of Archbishop Secker. "How happy," says the rather greedy Ducarel, "such an office to be executed by the same deputy would render me, I leave your Lordship to judge."

The early years of Archbishop Cornwallis' Primacy were disturbed by the petition to Parliament against Clerical Subscription, which was the result of Archdeacon Blackburne's work, *The Confessional*, which we have already mentioned. As a High Churchman, Secker had been opposed to Blackburne, and had been even credited with writing the first of the "Three letters to the author of the *Confessional*"; but the tendency of the times and, perhaps, the low standard of zeal and learning prevalent among the most highly placed clergy were favourable to broad and lax theological views. At any rate, in 1771, Blackburne published Proposals for an application to Parliament for relief in the matter of subscription, humbly submitted to the consideration of the learned and conscientious clergy. The plan proposed was to prepare a petition, circulate it in the country for eight, six, or ten months, and present it to Parliament.[1]

A meeting of London clergy was held at the Feathers Tavern on 17th July 1771, when an association called the Feathers Tavern Association to support the proposed application to Parliament was formed, and a petition to Parliament drawn up by Blackburne was agreed on

[1] Anson's *Grafton's Autobiography*, 268.

and was circulated for signature. The petition in its main part ran as follows :

"Your petitioners apprehend themselves to have certain rights and privileges which they hold of God alone—of this kind is the exercise of their own reason and judgment. They conceive they are also warranted by those original principles of reformation from popery on which the Church of England is constituted, to judge in searching the Scriptures, each man for himself, what may or may not be proved thereby. They find themselves, however, in a great measure precluded the enjoyment of this invaluable privilege by the laws relating to subscription whereby your petitioners are required to acknowledge certain articles and confessions of faith and doctrine, drawn up by fallible men to be all and every one of them agreeable to the said Scriptures. Restored to their undoubted rights as Protestants of interpreting Scripture for themselves without being bound by any human explanation thereof."[1]

About two hundred and fifty signed the petition, mostly clergymen, but some doctors and lawyers. The signatories were doubtless what would be called now Broad Churchmen, but their number included many men of high character and of learning, such as Law. Lord North was interviewed, but could promise no support to the petition. The Methodists and Selina, Countess of Huntingdon, opposed it. It came on upon the 6th February 1772, and there was a full-dress debate on it. Sir Wm. Meredith introduced it, and it was supported by Thos. Pitt, nephew of Chatham, Dunning, Wedderburn, and Sir George Savile. The opposition was led by Sir Roger Newdigate, the doughty member for Oxford University, who was supported by Lord North, Fox, and Burke. The notes to the Parliamentary Debates give an account of the debate from a letter written by John Lee, afterwards Solicitor-General, to a friend in the country, from which the

[1] Anson's *Grafton's Autobiography*, 267.

following is an extract: "Nobody but Sir Roger Newdigate defended the articles, and all the House explicitly declared it was foolish to require subscription at the universities, and expressed a wish it might be laid aside there. After a very firm debate the House divided, the numbers for not receiving the petition were 217, for receiving it 71, which, considering the influence of the bishops and ministry, and the character and weight of the minority, was thought a very great affair. This scene was acted yesterday, beginning at 3 and ending at 11 o'clock."

There is little direct evidence of Archbishop Cornwallis taking any part in the above proceedings. The Duke of Grafton in his autobiography, after stating that the supporters of the movement were not unanimous as to the best mode of approaching Parliament, the meeting at the Feathers Tavern, which consisted of some hundreds, preferring to petition the Commons directly, and that part which met at Tenison's Library, with Mr. Wollaston of Chiselhurst, thinking it to be more proper to address the bishops to bring the business before Parliament, goes on: "From the Archbishop (Cornwallis) Mr. Wollaston met with a gracious reception, though no answer was given to him. But from his Grace, with the Bishop of Peterboro' and some other of the bishops, we, who most interested ourselves for reasonable relief to the clergy, received the fullest expectations from their Declaration, and assurance that the Bench itself would take the matter under consideration trusting that they might be able to bring about the object desired in that manner which was thought to be most judicious in a civil and religious view." From the above we may surmise what seems probable on general grounds that Cornwallis would be opposed to the petitioners' proposals. He seems however now or a very little later to have intimated that he would receive favourably a petition for the revision of the Liturgy; at any rate, such a petition in 1772 was

presented to him, and the idea of it is said by the eminent Toplady to have emanated from Lambeth.[1] So orthodox and evangelical a person as Porteous, afterwards Bishop of London, signed it.[2] The archbishop however found that his fellow-bishops were not favourable to the petition.[3] The petitioners were not unanimous as to the relief they sought. Some thought only the primary doctrines of the Christian creed should be subscribed to; others suggested a general assent to the Prayer Book. The authorities in State had still the fear of Sacheverell before them, and loved peace, which they thought meant letting things alone. Blackburne said there was a new 40th Article of the Church of England, Peace, and so nothing was done. On 11th February 1773, Cornwallis, having been applied to for his final decision, announced: "I have consulted severally my brethren bishops, and it is the opinion of the Bench in general that nothing can in prudence be done in the matter that has been submitted to our consideration."

Horace Walpole says that in 1770 Cornwallis was persuaded by Lowth, Bishop of London, to remonstrate against masquerades. "That knave," says Walpole, "the Bishop of London, persuaded that good soul the archbishop to remonstrate 'against' masquerades; but happily the age prefers silly follies to serious ones, and *dominoes comme de raison* carry it against lawn sleeves."[4] But it is well known he fell under the censure of the celebrated Selina, Countess of Huntingdon, for the *routs* which he or his wife gave at Lambeth. The Countess' remonstrances were ill received by the archbishop, and she thereupon sought an interview with the King, which resulted in his addressing the following letter to the Primate:

[1] Anson's *Grafton's Autobiography*, 258.
[2] *English Church in the Eighteenth Century*, ii. 442.
[3] Mahon's *History*, v. 301.
[4] Walpole's *Letters by Toynbee*, vii. 381.

"My Good Lord Primate,—I could not delay giving you the notification of the grief and concern with which my breast was affected at receiving authentic information that *routs* have made their way into yr palace. At the same time I must signify to you my sentiments on this subject, which hold those levities and vain dissipations as utterly inexpedient, if not unlawful, to pass in a residence for many centuries devoted to divine studies, religious retirement, and the extensive exercise of charity and benevolence. I add in a place where so many of yr predecessors have led their lives in such sanctity as has thrown lustre on the pure religion they professed and adorned.

"From the dissatisfaction with which you must perceive I behold these improprieties—not to speak in harsher terms—and on still more pious principles, I trust you will suppress them immediately, so that I may not have occasion to show any further marks of my displeasure, or to interpose in a different manner.

"May God take your Grace into His Almighty protection.—I remain, my Lord Primate, your gracious friend, G. R."[1]

In a contemporaneous letter, Mr. Cole, who was a great scholar and littératur of the time, says: "No doubt you have seen in the *London Evening Post* of the last fortnight several scurrilous squibs and reflections on our Primate, not for his routs at the palace, but for his endeavouring to bring folks to a sense of their duty and decency. In the last week's paper it is repeated, and the archbishop's lady taxed with routs on a Sunday. Though I had formerly the honour of a decent familiarity with his Grace while at college, and have all the veneration that is due *tanto patri*; yet if the fact is true, and it is boldly and confidently asserted in the Presbyterian manner, I cannot help thinking but all that is said is proper enough for such anti-episcopal carriage. I have myself, as William Cole, no particular objection to a game of cards even on a Sunday evening; but as vicar of a parish I should think myself highly

[1] Jesse's *Geo. III.*, ii. 58.

blameable to do so in my parish, or as a clergyman anywhere in a country where the prejudice is so vehement against it—so that I cannot believe the assertion."

Dr. Wickham Legg, in his recently published work, *English Church Life from the Restoration to the Tractarian Movement*,[1] raises the question whether the real offence of which George III. complained was the having routs at Lambeth or the having them on Sunday, and points out that in the royal letter no mention is made of Sunday, and that George III. himself had, and stoutly upheld, Sunday bands at Windsor, Weymouth, and Kensington. Dr. Legg seems to doubt the precise authenticity of the royal letter. But in the Lives of the Countess of Huntingdon the day as well as the place of the routs is made a point.[2]

The year 1773 raised the question of giving relief to the Dissenters. The course of legislation during the preceding ten years is not one of which Churchmen nowadays can feel very proud. No doubt *quieta non movere* was the statesman's dearest rule about this time, and the great majority of High Church officials considered it one of their first duties to resist any encroachments on the property or on the dignities of the Established Church. Walpole in Anne's days had repealed the Schism Act, but had shrunk, as we have stated, from touching the two Test and Corporation Acts passed in Charles II.'s reign, when the nation was crazed to restore in Church matters the pre-Commonwealth régime; and also was frightened by James II., then Duke of York's Roman Catholic proclivities. Those Acts required any person before taking any municipal office, however humble, to receive the Communion according to the rites of the Church of England within a short time of his taking office. The penalties were heavy. A defaulter was

[1] P. 241.

[2] Painter, *Life and Times of Countess of Huntingdon*, ii. 283; Pitman, *The Countess of Huntingdon and her Circle*, 125.

heavily fined and was practically outlawed. He could not take a legacy or be a plaintiff in the courts. The Government as an irony passed a Bill annually to indemnify offenders against these penalties. In 1773 a Dissenters' Relief Act, which gave them relief in another way, was before the Commons. To obtain the benefits of the Toleration Act of William and Mary, a dissenting body had to subscribe the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England. This, not unnaturally, the Dissenters felt a grievance, and proposed to substitute for Subscription a Declaration that they took the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments as the rule of their faith and practice. In the Commons the proposed relief was opposed by that sound old Tory, Sir Roger Newdigate, the member for the University of Oxford, as an infringement of the rights of the Established Church and a blow at the foundations of religion ; but Burke spoke in favour of the Bill, and it passed the Commons in all its stages by large majorities, 70 against 9. In the Lords, however, it had worse luck. The bishops were in a bellicose mood. Some months before an attempt had been made in the Commons to repeal the Nullum Tempus Act ; in other words, to quiet the possession of subjects to property against dormant claims of the Church. A little earlier Parliament had quieted the possession of subjects against dormant claims of the Crown, and the Church it might be thought could have submitted to a similar restriction, but Lord North saw great danger ahead, and the Bill was lost by 141 to 117. This attempt, however, had frightened the bishops. When the Dissenters' Relief Bill came up from the Commons on 19th May 1773, Lord Chatham spoke in support of it. Cornwallis does not seem to have spoken. Markham, the Archbishop of York, was an extreme Tory. He had preached a sermon practically upholding the divine right of Kings and denouncing the founders of the American Republic as rebels of the worst kind. When Burgoyne

surrendered and the British cause was admitted to be lost by every one except by the obstinacy of George III., he was fairly castigated by the Elder Pitt in the House of Lords. But Terrick of London opposed the motion. Watson, Bishop of Llandaff, one of the ablest and fairest of the prelates, quoted from the celebrated Dr. Priestley's publications to show that religion was in danger of being swept away root and branch. It would seem that Chatham was horrified by the statements quoted, and ejaculated "monstrous," "horrible," "shocking." At any rate the Bill was lost in the Lords by 102 to 29.

Cornwallis defended, as was natural, the strong anti-Papal feelings of Englishmen of that day in the matter of public worship. In 1773 Sir Joshua Reynolds offered the Dean of St. Paul's that the Royal Society should at its own expense decorate the interior of St. Paul's Cathedral with pictures by himself, West, and other artists. But Cornwallis and Terrick, Bishop of London, thought that the people might regard it as an artful introduction of Popery, and opposed the scheme.[1] But we must not hastily set him down as an ultra-Protestant.

The year 1776 saw the determination by the Courts of a question affecting Cornwallis as well as his predecessors and successors, viz., whether Lambeth Palace was chargeable with poor-rate. There was a feigned issue, the archbishop being plaintiff, and one Suter, a Lambeth parish official, being defendant. The point seems to have been, was it extra-parochial? The palace, it was said, was part of the diocese of Canterbury. Lambeth parish was in the diocese of Winchester. If the palace were part of the diocese of Canterbury, it could not be part of the diocese of Winchester.[2] Porteous, who had been rector of Lambeth, was a witness for the plaintiff, and testified that he

[1] Newton, *Life and Anecdotes*, 141.

[2] See Archbishop *v.* Suter, *Burrow's Reports*.

never got tithe from the archbishop. There was a learned and elaborate argument. In the end the archbishop won, and the parish was condemned in costs amounting to £150, raised by assessment on all the inhabitants and paid to the archbishop. Though rich, he was not stingy, especially in matters affecting the dignity of his office. He seems to have been the sort of litigant one would like to be opposed to—for though victorious all along the line, he, a few months later, presented the whole amount of the costs to the parish and paid his solicitor's bill out of his own pocket.

Archbishop Cornwallis does not appear to have intervened very frequently in the debates in the House of Lords. In the hearing of a case about tithes the reports show him to have spoken, it being in those days, and for many years afterwards, the right and practice of every peer, though not a law lord, to speak and vote in the hearing of legal causes in the House of Lords.

In 1775 we find him taking part in a debate which can be read with interest even by readers of to-day. A Bill was introduced for enabling His Majesty to license a playhouse in the town of Manchester. Four years before a Bill had been brought forward for a similar license for Liverpool and had been passed with a protest by the Earl of Radnor. The same peer opposed the Manchester Bill, and from his speech on the second reading it appears that when the latter Bill was going through the Commons he applied to Cornwallis and to two other bishops to see if he could count on their support to his opposition. He was told they were resolved to give it every opposition in their power. But on the first reading they failed to oppose.[1] On the second reading Lord Radnor complained of the bishops' conduct, but Terrick, Bishop of London, and the archbishop justified themselves on the ground that the second and not the first reading was the

[1] *Parliamentary Reports*, xviii. 634.

proper stage on which to oppose a Bill. Cornwallis said that whatever might be urged for theatres being established in London, he was perfectly convinced that they tended to idleness, and all the train of evil idleness is productive of, among those who were destined to live by labour and industry. "I remember," proceeded his Grace, "when I resided in the last diocese I had the care of, I went to a great trading town (Birmingham) to attend an ordination; and having a curiosity to inspect the manufacture carried on by a Mr. Taylor, upon examining the works I inquired how many men he employed; he answered five hundred. 'And where are they? Is this a holiday?' 'No,' says he, 'but we have a playhouse here; men were at the play last night, and it is impossible to get them to their business for two or three days after they have been there.' I am convinced," said the archbishop at the close of his speech, "that in trading and manufacturing towns its effects are immediate and pernicious; I am, therefore, strenuously against committing the Bill." But the Bill passed.

Cornwallis published little if anything; but in 1778 Dr. Ducarel, who was at one time librarian at Lambeth, published a list of the various editions of the Bible and parts thereof in English from the year 1626 to the year 1776, and the archbishop bore the cost of an edition (two hundred and fifty copies) of this work.

Cornwallis is said to have supported Porteous, just made Bishop of Chester and afterwards Bishop of London,[1] in his efforts in 1777 to get Good Friday better observed. This was met by a cry of "No Popery." The closing of shops would soon, so it was said, be followed by the elevation of the host and crucifix to prostrate crowds in dirty streets. Mr. Hore says that for many weeks the Presbyterian newspapers were full of abuse of Archbishop Cornwallis and his family. One paper complained of the shutting

[1] Hore, i. 452.

up of the city shops on Good Friday as "a sanctified hypocritical triumph over both reason and Scripture—the civil and religious right of Englishmen—which could not but be highly acceptable to tyrant and hypocrite of every denomination, particularly at Court."[1]

The *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1778 records that Archbishop Cornwallis held visitations of his clergy at Sittingbourne, Canterbury, Ashford, and Dover, and, assisted by his Suffragan of Rochester, confirmed at those places, and at Ramsgate, Sandwich, Hythe, Romney, Cranbrook, and Maidstone. The same journal prints a curious incident which shows that archbishops of 1900 are free from some of the annoyances of their predecessors of a century and a half ago. The archbishop and his wife while visiting Dover stayed at the London Tavern, and were much alarmed at midnight by the door of their room being burst open by a drunken English squire just arrived from France, who persisted in taking possession of their apartment, which his Grace for peace' sake resigned. "Next morning," the chronicler adds, "when sober he offered to make any submission, but his Grace would not see him."

In 1778 one of the savagest Acts against the Roman Catholics, that which enabled a son, entitled after his father's death to the estates of which his father was tenant for life, by turning Protestant, to dispossess his Roman Catholic father during the latter's life, was repealed, one bishop, Hinchcliffe, the Bishop of Peterborough, being found liberal-minded enough to speak in its favour in the Lords.

In 1779 the Relief of Dissenters came up again. On 10th March, Sir Henry Hoghton moved that the House should resolve itself into Committee to consider a measure for the relief of Protestant Dissenting ministers and schoolmasters.[2] Stout old Tories like Sir Wm. Bagot opposed the motion. The University of Oxford

[1] *London Evening Post*, 29th May 1777.
[2] *Gentleman's Magazine*, Dec. 1779, p. 571.

petitioned against the Bill, which was circulated and which brought Dissenters within the Toleration Act of William and Mary on their making a solemn declaration that they believed the Scriptures to contain the revealed will of God, and received the same as the rule of their doctrine and practice; and their representative, Sir R. Newdigate, opposed the motion. The argument that Dissenters had as good a title to relief as had been acted on in reference to the Roman Catholics in the last Session, found favour with the House, and almost unanimously it was resolved that the House should resolve itself into Committee, to consider means for giving relief to Protestant Dissenting ministers and schoolmasters. On the recommendation of the Committee, leave to bring in a Bill was given, a postponement for four months being lost by a great majority. The Bill was read a first and second time without debate. In Committee, the University of Oxford, true to Toryism, petitioned against the Bill unless some clause should be inserted in it declaratory of the Christianity of those who were to be relieved by it. Lord North supported the petition and suggested a Declaration as follows: "I, A. B., do solemnly declare that I am a Christian and a Protestant Dissenter, and that I take the Holy Scriptures both of the Old and New Testaments as they are generally received in Protestant countries for the rule of my faith and practice." Fox opposed the Declaration, which was supported by Burke; but the Declaration was carried by 88 to 58, and on Report by 95 to 59. The Bill having been read a third time in the Commons, was carried through the Lords without debate, the Bishops showing silence instead of opposition as in 1773, and on the 18th May received the Royal assent.

Perhaps the public trouble which existed in 1779 tended to make citizens more peaceably inclined towards their fellow-citizens even though differing in their forms of worship, and ready, if possible, to

relieve their scruples. It was indeed a black year for England.

Towards the end of Cornwallis' Primacy, London was disturbed by the Gordon Riots. Two years before Sir George Savile had carried the measure we have mentioned relieving the Roman Catholics of some of their disabilities. We of this later age have forgotten the severity of the laws then existing against Papists. A Roman Catholic keeping a school was liable to perpetual imprisonment. Roman Catholics were incapable of taking by descent if any Protestant next-of-kin claimed the inheritance. A Roman Catholic child by becoming Protestant could deprive his non-recanting parent of his estate. They are said to have been elated by Savile's relieving legislation: at any rate the "No Popery" cry was raised and caught on well with the mob. Mustering, on 26th June 1780, in St. George's Fields they marched in three parties over London Bridge, Blackfriars' Bridge, and Westminster Bridge to the Houses of Parliament, where they arrived about half-past two. The members of the Legislature, particularly the members of the House of Lords, were very roughly handled by the mob. It is doubtful how far Cornwallis was a sufferer at the hands of this particular mob. A contemporary print says that he was saluted with hisses and groans, and when he got out of his carriage to avoid greater mischief the crowd compelled him to cry out (which he did in a feeble voice) "No Popery, no Popery." A later issue, however, of the same journal says this is a mistake, and that his Grace was "so far from being ill-treated by the mob, and forced to cry whatever they would have him, that he never went from Lambeth that day." But his house, if not he himself, got attention from the mob. Indeed the palace at Lambeth narrowly escaped destruction. The first alarm was given on Tuesday, 6th June, when a party to the number of five hundred or more who had previously assembled in St. George's Fields came to the palace with drums and fifes,

and colours flying, crying "No Popery." Finding the gates shut, after knocking several times without obtaining any answer, they halloed out that they should return in the evening. A party of guards one hundred in number arrived at twelve under Colonel Deacon, but the mob paraded round the house, and continued to do so the following day. In this alarming situation Archbishop Cornwallis with his lady and family were with great difficulty prevailed upon to quit the palace, whither they did not return till the disturbances were entirely subsided. Soldiers remained till 11th August; two hundred, sometimes three hundred, men being quartered in the palace. Officers were lodged in the best apartment and entertained in the handsomest manner at the archbishop's expense by two of his chaplains, Drs. Vye and Lort. The "soldiers attended chapel morning and evening, and with their wives and children had their meals," so the Chronicler of Lambeth goes on, "of the best provisions in the great hall.' During their stay at Lambeth, from 6th June to 11th August, "not the least complaint could be made of irregular behaviour in any individual." Mobs, it should be remarked, were not unknown at Lambeth: they had been there—whether they were for the Irish or not—in 1736.

In the summer of 1780 when the country was astir with the panic caused by the Lord George Gordon Riots there were proceedings in both Houses of Parliament with reference to the suggested repeal of the Act of 1778 by which toleration was extended to Roman Catholics. Sir George Savile introduced a Bill, which passed the Commons, prohibiting Roman Catholics from teaching or undertaking the education of the children of Protestant parents. In the Lords Cornwallis professed himself favourable to toleration even of Roman Catholics, and was ready to support the Bill if it were shown that Romish schools had increased in number. He stated that inquiries directed by him showed that the total number of Roman Catholics had not increased throughout the

kingdom generally, and that there was only one new school for boys at Hammersmith. The Lord Chancellor suggested that it would be enough to forbid Roman Catholics keeping boarding schools, and this was agreed to, but the next day the archbishop said he had agreed to this inadvertently and required day schools to be protected. The Bill seems in the end to have been lost.

A sensible speech by Cornwallis in opposition to Lord Thurlow, in which the archbishop upheld the privileges of the University press, is reported in the Parliamentary Debates for 1781.

In 1782 the celebrated Bishop Watson of Llandaff published a letter to Archbishop Cornwallis [1] recommending a new disposition of Church revenues by which the bishoprics should be rendered of equal value, and the smaller livings be increased at the expense of the rich endowments. The letter was answered and caused some stir, but resulted in nothing : nor was Cornwallis the man from whom any drastic interference with Church property was to be expected. Watson had been second wrangler, and was a prominent man in the second half of the eighteenth century. He was Professor of Chemistry at Cambridge, and withal a theologian. One of his pupils at Cambridge so admired him that he left him £20,000, a reward not often falling to a successful don. He made a remarkable speech in the House of Lords in favour of the Union. Though bishop of a Welsh diocese he resided, and defended his residing, permanently at the Lakes.

Watson's pamphlet, says Dr. Lort, made much noise. "All the friends of the Established Church hang their heads at it, and all its enemies triumph in it." Speaking of this pamphlet,[2] Dr. Lort writes on 18th March 1783 : "The poor archbishop to whom it is addressed was taken very ill on Sunday ; he is better to-day, but I do not think him out of danger. Pray God, preserve

[1] Nichols' *Literary Anecdotes*, viii. 142.
[2] Nichols' *Illustrations of Literature*, vii. 449.

him a little longer to ward off the storm that seems gathering around us."

As he advanced in years, Cornwallis felt the infirmities of old age. In the spring of 1783 he was confined by a gouty complaint in one of his legs. But this so passed that he was able to go to Court on Thursday, 14th March, and to attend the House of Lords next day. It was noted as curious that his penultimate predecessor, Archbishop Hutton, who died on the same day and month, twenty-five years before, had also attended the House of Lords the Friday before his death. On the Sunday morning Cornwallis attended prayers in Lambeth Chapel, and though slightly unwell afterwards, by evening had apparently regained his usual health. On Monday morning, however, he was seriously unwell. The celebrated Dr. Heberden, a great physician of the day, with other doctors were summoned to his aid. Blisters, the favourite remedy of the age, were freely applied, but though more hope of recovery was felt on Tuesday, he sank, and died on Wednesday evening. He was buried at Lambeth—not at Canterbury—following in this the example of his predecessors since the Reformation, Cardinal Pole having been the last archbishop buried at Canterbury. His family and friends chose as his resting-place a vault under the altar in Lambeth Church. This was the holiest spot near at hand. But it was already occupied. The sexton's men in digging the grave reopened the Reformation struggles. They, without intending it, knocked into a leaden coffin of "horse-shoe" shape, we are told, and in this were found the remains of Dr. Thomas Thirlby, Bishop of Ely, but deprived in 1559. Thirlby had a somewhat remarkable history. He is said to have been the only Church of England Bishop of Westminster, Henry VIII. having designed to make Westminster Abbey into a Cathedral. He gave a *congé d'élire* to the chapter in favour of Thomas "Thirlebye," and he was consecrated Bishop of

Westminster on 19th December 1543. Edward VI. removed him to Norwich in 1553, and in 1554 Mary appointed him Bishop of Ely.[1] But he could not swallow the Reformation doctrine, the faith and practice of his youth and early manhood having too strong a hold of him. So after Mary's death he was deprived by Elizabeth and put in the Tower. He must have been a peacefully minded man withal, for Parker, Reformer as he was, consented to take him, as well as Tunstall, in at Lambeth and to feed and house him there till his death. The flesh, the face, and white beard were, we are told, in a wonderful state of preservation, having been subjected to some preservative. A cap of silk adorned with point lace—but which had lost its black colour—was on the head, resembling those seen in the pictures of Archbishop Juxon. A slouched cap with strings and the crown sewn in was under the left arm.

Cornwallis seems to have been a kindly man of no great talents or learning, and with no special qualifications for high ecclesiastical office. Horace Walpole calls him a prelate of inconsiderable talents, but a most amiable, gentle, and humane man, and in a letter to Sir Horace Mann on his being made Primate, "a quiet, amiable, good sort of man without the hypocrisy of his predecessor" (Walpole was always the enemy of Secker), "or the abject soul of most of his brethren."[2] In another letter he says, "he is no hypocrite time-server nor high priest. I little expected so good a choice." Bishop Newton, the author of the work on Prophecy, in his *Memoirs*, written while Cornwallis was still archbishop, speaks of him as "the not unworthy successor of Secker," and says, "he has greatly improved Lambeth House; he keeps a hospitable and elegant table; has not a grain of pride in his composition, is easy of access; receives every one with affability and good nature; is courteous, obliging, and condescending,

[1] Allen's *History of Lambeth*, iii. [2] *Letters*, vii. 216.

and as a proof of it he has not often been made the subject of censure even in this censorious age." His biographer says that he discharged the duties of Primate with attention, punctuality, and decorum. His idea was to support the existing constitution in Church and State. "In shining talents and extensive learning other prelates may have been superior to him,"—but good solid sense, prudence, affability, candour, and hospitality are claimed for him. Dr. Samuel Denne gives the following character of him—which, he says, is "the spontaneous effusion of a country vicar, who never sought or received His Grace's patronage, but who admired and loved him for his amiable and endearing manners." He says: "There may have been Metropolitans superior to the late archbishop in the profoundness of their erudition. His Grace, and his predecessor, Archbishop Herring, had a very competent share of human learning. But they had each of them something better. To the utmost purity and benevolence of heart they added the most affable and engaging deportment." After saying that Cornwallis had been respected and beloved at Lichfield, and that his move to Canterbury had made no change in "his liberality of soul," his biographer proceeds: "At Lambeth House from the instant that he entered its walls, that odious distinction of a separate table for the chaplains was abolished. It remained for an archbishop of high birth to declare that they should be constantly seated at the same board with himself. His board upon public days was princely. His hospitality was in general as noble as his own moderation in the enjoyment of it was exemplary. The courtesy with which he received those who had occasion to approach him was not the affected politeness of a Court. It was the courtesy of religion and morality. It was the evident result of a good understanding, and a consummately benevolent heart."

Cornwallis died rich. "He made no will," writes his chaplain Lort to Bishop Percy, "since he came to Lambeth. His options devolve, of course, to Mrs. Cornwallis, but whether he left any verbal directions to her concerning them I have not learnt." His portrait by Sir Thos. Lawrence is at Lambeth.

Cornwallis, like Secker, never occupied the old palace at Croydon. Why Secker gave it a wide berth we know not. The ecclesiastical, almost monastic, style of its old buildings, restored by Herring, would not have been distasteful to a man of Secker's tastes. It was reputed unhealthy. The ladies of Secker's family were delicate, if not actual invalids. Perhaps the reason lies here.

With Cornwallis the reason for forsaking Croydon may have been different. Its neglect since Herring's days would not tend to increase its attractions. The archbishop's lady was a leader in society, and may for this cause have found Lambeth ten miles nearer the centre of the world than Croydon. Indeed, during Cornwallis' reign the movement for altogether severing the connection between the Primates and Croydon old Palace must have gathered force either from Cornwallis' initiative or elsewhere, for in 1780 a Private Act of Parliament was passed (20 George III. c. 57) for vesting the old palace and two closes adjoining in the Lord Chancellor, the Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench, and the Bishops of London and Winchester in trust to sell the same and apply the money arising thereby and from dilapidations and other money for the purposes therein mentioned. The Act then states that the situation was bad and inconvenient; that there was £5403, 3s. 3d. of South Sea Annuities which had been purchased with money allowed by the Commissioners for building Westminster Bridge as a compensation for the horse-ferry from Lambeth to Milbank, the dividends of which were received by the archbishop for his own use; there was £1584, 4s. 11d. Consolidated 3 per

cents purchased by the archbishop in 1769 with money received by him for dilapidations, and which with accumulated dividends amounted to £2360, os. 3d., and that the archbishop had lately purchased the leasehold interest in a farm called Park Hill belonging to the see within half a mile of the town, and very proper for building thereon a new palace; the Act then empowered the trustees to sell the palace and two closes, or pull the house down and sell the materials and pay the money to the Accountant-General of the Court of Chancery to be laid out in £3 per cent. Consols, and added to the money already in that stock and a palace to be built on Park Hill, the dividends in the meantime to accumulate. The venerable pile at Croydon was accordingly sold on the 17th October 1780 to Abraham, afterwards Sir Abraham, Pitcher for £2520.[1] The palace on Park Hill seems never to have been completed, and three years later Archbishop Cornwallis died. During Archbishop Moore's twenty-two years' Primacy, the question of a new country-house for the Primate seems to have slumbered. Perhaps for some reason or other Moore did not want a new house.

It was not till 1808, as we shall see, three years after Manners Sutton had become archbishop, that Addington was bought.

The subsequent history of Croydon old palace, with the deeply interesting historical associations which we have noted in Archbishop Herring's life, is not altogether creditable to the zeal of Englishmen generally for historical monuments. The purchaser in 1780 granted a long lease of it. In the hands of the lessees and their under-tenants, some of the buildings were pulled down, what was left was used for business purposes, especially in connection with linen bleaching. On the grounds houses were built. Laud's chapel was for some time a girls' national school—

[1] Manning and Bray's *Surrey*, ii. 537.

round holes being cut in the desks of the stalls to hold the girls' ink-pots![1] Near the end of the nineteenth century the lease fell in, and the then Vicar of Croydon, all praise to him, sought to secure the old palace site and buildings for the church as the site of a vicarage, etc. But his efforts were unsuccessful; a museum was attempted without success. Only the munificence of the Duke of Newcastle, who has presented the palace to the Kilburn Sisters, saved the historic buildings from further desecration.

The archiepiscopal library at Lambeth was much benefited by the generosity of Archbishop Cornwallis, who, besides adding thereto many valuable books in his lifetime, caused a very curious collection of old printed tracts and pamphlets (from the reign of Henry VII. to that of Queen Anne) which long lay in the library undigested to be bound in sixty volumes.[2]

It is said that a valuable set of prints of all the Archbishops of Canterbury from 1504 was collected at Lambeth by Cornwallis.[3] After the archbishop's death some valuable articles were presented by his accomplished lady, who took great pleasure in the library at Lambeth, which she is said to have visited almost every day.

[1] Pelton's *Croydon.* [2] Allen, 1809.
[3] Nichols' *Illustrations of Literature,* iii. 505.

JOHN MOORE

1783–1805

John Moore was born at Gloucester in 1730. His father is generally said to have been a butcher at Gloucester, but he is entered as "Mr." in freehold registers, and as "gent^{n}" in the records. So it seems probable that he may have been a substantial grazier.

John the son's name appears in the Freemen's Roll. He was brought up at the Free School of his native city—and as he showed signs of ability he was sent by friends to Pembroke College, Oxford, whence he later removed to Christ Church.

He graduated M.A. in 1751, B.D. and D.D. in 1763.[1] He seems in early life to have formed a friendship with Dr. Grey, the Rector of Hinton, and his wife, who was a daughter of Mr. Thicknesse. In the *Memoirs* published by Philip Thicknesse, the son, an account is given of the somewhat romantic marriage between Dr. Grey and Miss Thicknesse. Mr. Thicknesse had a living near Steane, where resided a proud stately prelate, Lord Crewe, Bishop of Durham, one of whose chaplains was Mr. Grey. Grey was sent by the bishop to ask why Thicknesse, unlike all his neighbours, clerical and lay, had failed to present himself at Steane. Grey on his visit saw Thicknesse's daughter, a very beautiful girl, in the courtyard, and said to Thicknesse, "Bless me it made my heart leap to see so fine a girl in such a country village!" Grey repeated his visits, and the pair were married. The chronicler says that in early life young

[1] Nichols' *Literary Anecdotes*, viii. 94.

John Moore became a *garçon de famille* at Hinton, much esteemed by Dr. Grey and his wife.

By some lucky circumstance he was introduced to the Duke of Marlborough as a tutor to his son, Lord Blandford. According to Mr. Thicknesse he owed this introduction to Dr. Grey ; but Mr. Nichols says this statement is not correct, and gives another account which he believes is authentic. While at Pembroke, Moore had as a tutor a Mr. John Hopkins, who was afterwards chaplain to the Bishop of Oxford and Vicar of Cropredy. The story is that " a gentleman (perhaps the steward) who was employed to look out for a fit person in the university to be private tutor to the family at Blenheim, after some disappointments applied to Mr. John Hopkins of Pembroke ; and, as he was talking with him on the subject in the window of his apartments in Pembroke College, Mr. Hopkins said, ' I do not think you can find a more proper person in the whole university than the gentleman who is walking across the quadrangle ; and I dare say he will be glad of the offer.' He was called up, and accepted the proposal—which led to consequences well known and honourable to all."[1] The pride of the Duchess, it is said, required that the tutor should not sit at the same table as herself, and he was degraded to the second table. His revenge came, however, for on the death of the Duke the haughty dame fell a victim to the tutor's charms, and courted him to receive her hand. Moore's honour and good feeling compelled him to decline, and we are told that so sensible was the Duke, the son, of the generosity of his conduct that, as the first token of his gratitude, he settled an annuity of £400 upon him and rapidly obtained for him very valuable Church preferment.

In 1766 he was made a Prebendary of Durham, and in 1771 Dean of Canterbury. Moore, from the time of his marrying as his second wife, Miss Eden, was on terms of affectionate intimacy with her brother, Sir Wm.

[1] Nichols' *Literary Anecdotes*, ix. 693.

Eden, afterwards first Lord Auckland, a man of great ability, who was several times a Minister, and several times employed on important foreign missions. The Auckland Correspondence now at the British Museum contains many dozens of letters under the signatures successively of J. Moore, J. Bangor, and J. Cantuar. They are the letters of a man of good wits, but they do not show any appreciation of piety or spiritual endowments of any kind. From his own words here recorded we judge Moore on one point, and that an important one. His view of high office in the Church is that of the darkest period of the eighteenth century. Church preferment is something to provide a man with high station and a good income, and, almost above all, with the means of providing for his sons and relatives. He discusses the merits of different bishoprics, deaneries, livings, always with the view of the advantages temporal and social to be got from them ; of the opportunities they may afford for religious or spiritual work to the persons, if any, to be ministered to, not a word. He is a great State official, and according to his opinions does his duty as such : nothing more. He becomes a nepotist and a very bad one. Throughout his career he had the Marlborough interest and the Eden interest to back him. And no doubt he considered from the first that with his gifts and his connections he was the man to receive high ecclesiastical preferment.

Further than this a man like Moore, who felt a mitre his due, having already a good prebend at Durham, and a good deanery at Canterbury, was in a position to make terms if not to barter. " How much already in possession must be given up ; there are bishoprics and bishoprics—' small,' ' middling,' and ' pretty good '—what is to be the net gain on a change ? "

In 1772 he writes to Eden : " It ought to be, I suppose, my Deanery and a small Bishopric, or Durham

and a middling one, or, if both Preferments are to be given up, a pretty good one. . . . Lord North must understand I will not be a Bishop unless he contrives I may live with some degree of comfort, I mean without such an income as may enable me to support my station."[1]

In January 1775 he is astir again and writes to Eden: "It is thought the Bishop of Rochester can last but a very short time: if the Duke of Marlborough will move on this occasion it will at least bring me forward."[2]

He further says: "I assure you upon the word of an honest man that no consideration but the duty I owe my children should make me take a seat on that same Bench; *nolo episcopari* is an old story, but if I know myself what I have said is true. The more I know of the world, the less I expect of personal satisfaction in entering into the bustle of it."[3]

In a later letter he says: "I am pleased at the Duke's entering into my affair with cordiality. I never can deserve the warmth from any man upon earth that I have deserved from him."

However, his hopes were fulfilled, and in 1775 he mounted the Episcopal Bench—his see (Bangor) being so often in the eighteenth century a bishop's first and the precursor of higher, if not the highest, dignities. The well-known Dr. Hurd was consecrated Bishop of Worcester at the same time as Moore in Lambeth Chapel, the sermon on the occasion on the subject of the Respective Duties of Ministers and People being preached by Dr. Balguy, Archdeacon of Winchester, who was named as successor to Bishop Warburton at Gloucester.

It was an age of verse, and the promotion occasioned the following *jeu d'esprit*:

[1] Auckland Corr., addl. MSS, Brit. Mus., 34412, f. 281.
[2] *Ubi supra*, 34412, f. 292.
[3] *Ubi supra*, 34412, f. 298.

"A Word of Comfort from Bangor to Canterbury on the Loss of her Dean"—

Cease, Canterbury, to deplore
The loss of your accomplished Moore,
Repining at my gain,
I soon may have most cause to mourn.
To you he'll probably return,
With *me* will scarce remain.

BANGOR.

which was thus answered:

To *me* you prophesy our mitred Moore
Revolving years may probably restore,
And thus in vain attempt my tears to dry.
I scarcely know my masters, but by name,
Triennial visits and the voice of fame,
For ah! my Palaces in ruins lie.

CANTERBURY.[1]

The reference at a time of deadness in the Church, and a century and a quarter before the restoration of the archbishop's palace at Canterbury, to the absence of any home for the archbishop there is interesting.

One thing is to be said in Moore's favour. He did not, as some other Bishops of Bangor of the eighteenth century, leave his diocese unvisited. There are several letters from Bangor; its quiet is remarked on. He was looking to move from there—upwards if it might be. Meanwhile he gives a pleasant description of his existence there under date the 6th September 1782. "My life," he says, "is filled up by looking round my diocese and endeavouring to civilize it a little and by another employment not of a very frequent kind, lucubrations on the elements of Greek with my two boys." After referring to expectations from Lord Shelburne, he continues: "I am doing a wiser thing than encouraging expectation. I am preparing or rather prepared not to be disappointed. At the same time, shd better pros-

[1] Nichols' *Literary Anecdotes*, iii. 219, 220.

pects rise, I am not unprepared for them neither. But I will not pay the price of self-reproach for any."[1]

Moore seems to have found favour at Canterbury. Dr. Beauvoir, of whose father we have read in narrating Wake's correspondence with the heads of the Gallican Church, and who became one of the six preachers at Canterbury, writes in March 1775 : " When are we to have a new Dean ? Send us Moore back again with his mitre."[2]

The year 1781 was a time of distress. War with France. The Revolt of the American Colonies, resulting in the War of Independence, the demands of Grattan's Parliament in Dublin made English statesmen anxious. A General Fast was decreed on the 21st February 1781, and Dr. Moore, the Bishop of Bangor, preached before the House of Lords on the occasion.

Just after Cornwallis' death, Fox and North had formed the Coalition Ministry, the Duke of Portland being Prime Minister, and shortly afterwards brought in and passed through the Commons their India Bill which proposed to take the Government of India from the East India Company and give it to seven commissioners appointed by Parliament. George III. thoroughly disliked the Bill, and, as is well known, got it thrown out by the Lords, and a few months afterwards made the younger Pitt, at the age of twenty-five, his Prime Minister. By the desire of the King, who took great interest in his ecclesiastical appointments, the Primacy was offered to Hurd, Bishop of Worcester, whom George III. called the most naturally polite man he ever knew, but who was the disciple, almost the slave, of the ungenial Warburton, and then to Lowth, Bishop of London. Hurd thought himself too old, and was also influenced by his love of scholarly ease. The Bishop of London was too much attached to and interested in his diocese.

Nichols says that Bishop Hurd had " the offer of the

[1] Auckland Corr., addl. MSS, Brit. Mus., 34419, f. 26.
[2] Nichols' *Literary Anecdotes*, ix. 356.

archbishopric from His Majesty with many gracious expressions, and was pressed to accept it; but honestly begged leave to decline it as a charge not suited to his temper and talents, and much too heavy for him to sustain especially in these times." "I took the liberty," says Bishop Hurd, "of telling His Majesty that several much greater men than myself had been contented to die Bishops of Worcester, and that I wished for no higher preferment." The King was pleased not to take offence at this freedom, and then to enter with him into some confidential conversation on the subject. It was offered to the Bishop of London, Dr. Lowth, and refused by him, as was foreseen, on the ground of his ill-health.[1] George III. is said thereupon to have asked each of these two distinguished prelates to recommend one of the bishops to him as being in their judgment the fittest for the Primacy, and each of them without consulting the other named Moore as the fittest man.[2]

There is a concise description of the affair by the Rev. Daniel Watson, a Yorkshire rector, whom the great Bishop Butler patronised: "Lowth and Hurd have both refused the Archbishopric of Canterbury, and joined in recommending Moore (Eden's brother-in-law) to the King, who in the present interregnum of administration has some will of his own."[3] Moore was accordingly appointed. His election by the Dean and Chapter was confirmed at Bow Church on the 26th April 1783, and on the 10th May he was installed and enthroned at Canterbury. It is interesting to note, and shows in what a different aspect such ceremonies were viewed a century and a half ago, to learn, as we do from the *Gentleman's Magazine* for the current date, that all these latter ceremonies, though performed with due solemnity, were all performed by proxy,—the vice-dean, acting the part of the archbishop, being placed successively in the

[1] Nichols' *Literary Anecdotes*, vi. 490.
[2] Nichols' *Illustrations of Literature*, vii. 449.
[3] Nichols' *Literary Anecdotes*, viii. 336.

archiepiscopal throne, the patriarchal chair, and the dean's stall, and afterwards receiving from all the members of the Church the usual profession of canonical obedience in the chapter house.

Two days later we read of Moore attending the Latin sermon at the annual meeting of the London clergy at Sion College, of which the journal of the day quaintly says: "The composition was strictly classical, pronounced with such a pleasing familiarity as delighted a most respectable auditory."

Shortly after his promotion appeared "Bangor's Word of Comfort to Canterbury—No Prophecy." It ran:

> An impartial and competent judge of desert,
> At such a conclusion must have needs been expert,
> And to baffle distraction I'll venture thus far,
> If Moore rose like a meteor he'll shine a true star.

Two letters of this date are such as a biographer of Moore would like, but does not dare, to suppress.

"*26th April* 1783.

"It is a critical moment for me. Dr. Stinton, who has a very large living in the archbishop's gift, is in so much danger that his death is probable every day. I shall be confirmed this day, but there being no Court can't do Homage or have the Temporalities restored till Wednesday. Say nothing of the circumstances of Dr. Stinton, but if you see Lord North be so good as to apprize him that I wish to do homage certainly on Wednesday.

"J. CANTUAR, Elect."[1]

"*28th April* 1783.

"I have been with Lord North, and my business will be finished on Wednesday morning. In the meantime should Dr. Stinton drop, his Preferment in the Archbishop's Gift will, I fear, be in hasard, though, as my confirmation is passed, the measure would be somewhat violent on the part of a Government to which I don't owe the situation . . . what interests my feelings is

[1] Addl. MSS, Brit. Mus., 34419, f. 183.

that the preferment would at once reach the utmost wishes of my sister's husband.

"J. CANTUAR."[1]

He writes on Monday, "I kiss hands to-day." He seems to have felt the troublous character of the times. Pitt had not yet commenced his long premiership: Fox and North's coalition was struggling on. In a letter to be found among the Egerton papers, and written in the week he was appointed Primate, Moore says, "I have been answering some scores of letters."[2] "Had I a ray of hope to send your Lordship that could in any degree brighten the prospect of public affairs, or could I say one comfortable word on that subject," he would continue his letter tired though his fingers were of writing.

One of Moore's first acts as archbishop was to give his vote in the House of Lords in favour of reversing the judgment of Lord Loughborough in the cause of Fytche *v.* Bishop of London. The point at issue in the cause was the validity of a bond to resign when called upon given to a patron by the incumbent of a living on presentation. It had been a common practice of patrons to ask for and take such a bond, and Churchmen of the better sort had frequently lamented the evils arising from the practice. Archbishop Secker had said: "The true meaning of a bond to resign is to enslave the incumbent to the will and pleasure of his patron whatever it shall happen at any time to be. So that if he demands his legal dues; if he is not subservient to the schemes political or whatever they are which he is required to promote; if he reproves such and such vices; if he preaches or does not preach such and such doctrines; if he stands up for charity and justice to any one when he is forbidden, the terror of resignation or the penalty of the bond may immediately be shaken over his head." It might also be made to give the patron the same results

[1] Addl. MSS, Brit. Mus., 34419, f. 185.
[2] Egerton MSS, Brit. Mus., 2136, f. 221.

as if he sold the next presentation while the living was empty.

The case is an interesting one to the Churchman, as well as to the lawyer and politician: to the Churchman because a great triumph was gained for purity of Church administration over the fetters of real property law; for the lawyer because the opinions of the judges of the courts below and also of the judges who were summoned to advise the House of Lords were overruled by that House; to the politician because the decision of the House was arrived at on votes of lay lords and bishops as well as law lords and on a majority of 1! The facts of the case were simple and undisputed. There was a living of Woodham Walter in the Diocese of London, of which a Mr. Fytche, in right of his wife, was patron. The incumbent, one Dr. Gower (oddly enough an M.D., not a D.D.), died. Fytche had a friend, one Eyre, to whom he wished to give the living, provided Eyre gave him a bond to resign the living at any time, which Eyre was willing to do, and did. Eyre was then presented to the Bishop of London for institution and induction. The existence of the resignation bond was admitted, and thereupon the bishop refused to institute or induct. The patron brought a suit known as *quare impedit* against the bishop for this refusal, to which the bishop pleaded that the bond was simoniacal and the presentation accordingly void. The Court of Common Pleas decided against the bishop, and on appeal the Court of King's Bench also decided against him. Like all common law actions of that date, except to a very trained pleader, the issue is somewhat obscured in the report by the technicalities of pleading, but the substantial issue appears from the Report in the House of Lords undoubtedly to have been, was the bond a benefit to the patron so as to taint the presentation with simony? The brave bishop brought his writ of error by way of appeal to the House of Lords, and what happened there is curious and

interesting. The judges were summoned to advise the House, and after full argument questions were put to them, of which the chief were as to the bond being a benefit to the patron and the bargain accordingly void under the Statute against simony, 31 Eliz. Eight judges attended: six of them answered all the questions in favour of the bond, holding it not to be a benefit to the patron. One held it was a benefit, but not corrupt; the eighth held it a benefit, but that on the pleadings the bishop could not raise its invalidity. Thus all the judges were against the bishop, and in favour of the decision of the courts below. Those were the days, however, when all the peers, legal and, as Lord Courtney calls them, "unlearned," voted on judicial appeals just as on political questions, and on a division nineteen—including the two archbishops and a dozen bishops—voted for reversing the judgment of the King's Bench, and eighteen in favour of affirming it. Thus by a majority of one, and against the voice of all the judges who heard the case, the Church was purged from the scandal of Resignation Bonds.

On 28th June 1784, the chapel at Lambeth was the scene of a very Episcopal wedding. We have alluded several times to Markham, Archbishop of York: perhaps many of our readers can picture him and his vigorous features from the fine bust in the vestibule of the library at Christ Church, Oxford. His daughter now married a son of Dr. Edmund Law, Bishop of Carlisle, a divine often referred to in these pages, the ceremony being performed by the Primate, to whom it was doubtless a pleasure to officiate at the wedding of his college tutor's daughter.

In June 1786 we find Moore speaking in the House of Lords against and defeating a Bill for preventing frivolous and vexatious suits in the Ecclesiastical Courts and for the more easy recovery of small tithes.[1] In spite of Moore's success, a Bill to amend the

[1] *Parl. Hist.*, xxvi. 128.

proceedings in the Ecclesiastical Courts was reintroduced into the Commons the following session, and reform seems certainly to have been needed. On the Regency Bill constituting George IV. Regent during the King's illness, Lord Stanhope moved to prevent the Regent giving the royal assent to any Bill interfering with, among other Acts, the Act of Uniformity.[1] Moore appears to have opposed the amendment and to have upheld the provisions of the Acts attacked, and the amendment was withdrawn.

In 1787 Moore had as Primate to deal with the claim of the Protestant Dissenters against the Test and Corporation Acts. Half a century had now elapsed, says Lord Stanhope, since the Protestant Dissenters had applied to Parliament for the repeal of the Test Acts. Most of them had supported Pitt at the General Election, and they now thought they had some claim on his favour. They circulated among the members of the House of Commons, a paper entitled "The Case of the Protestant Dissenters with Reference to the Corporation and Test Acts," which is set out in vol. xxvi. of the *Parliamentary History*, p. 781, and they chose as their spokesman, Mr. Beaufoy, a Churchman and a supporter of the Government.[2]

Pitt appears to have felt a disposition to support their claim, says Lord Stanhope, if he could do so with the assent of the Church of England. Moore, at the request of Pitt, as the bishops were informed, summoned a meeting of the bishops at the Bounty Office. The question was asked of them, "Ought the Test and Corporation Acts to be maintained?" Fourteen bishops were present. Only two, Watson of Llandaff and Shipley of St. Asaph, said No; and Pitt was informed of the meeting's decision.

Moore does not appear to have altogether favoured the proposal. He writes to his brother-in-law, Lord Auckland, and, after discussing the chances of Pitt

[1] *Parl. Hist.*, xxvii. 1282. [2] Stanhope's *Life of Pitt*, i. 336.

supporting the repeal, says that he "has good reason to be sure he has not as yet at least made up his mind to do so"; in which he perhaps refers to Pitt's request to him to summon the bishops to discuss the matter, and goes on: "The Speaker and Hatsell tell me they have no idea of its not being rejected upon the first motion. . . . My anxiety on this subject makes me doubt this."

On the 27th March 1787, Mr. Beaufoy in the Commons moved for such repeal, and in a speech of burning eloquence emphasised the degradation of the sacred rite of the Holy Communion involved in making it the test for civil offices even of a humble grade, calling it "a monstrous attempt, as irrational as it is profane, to strengthen the Church of England by the debasement of the Church of Christ."[1] The motion was opposed by Lord North, but supported by Fox.

Pitt said he could not with decency give a silent vote. The members of the Church of England part of the Constitution would be alarmed if not seriously injured, and their apprehensions were not to be treated lightly. It must be conceded to him that an Established Church was necessary. No means could be devised of admitting the moderate part of the Dissenters and excluding the more violent; the bulwark must be kept against all, but at the end of his speech he expressed the highest opinion of the present race of Dissenters and of their claim to the protection of the Government. Neither he nor any of the speakers against the motion said anything about the profanation of the Communion involved in the Act. Mr. Beaufoy's motion was lost by 98 to 176.[2]

Moore's reference to the affair in his letter to Auckland is not very clear or very large-minded. Under date 6th April 1787 he writes: "You will observe that the Dissenters are firing away in the papers at Mr. Pitt.

[1] *Annual Register* 87, p. 114.

[2] *Parliamentary History*, xxvi. 831, gives Nos. as 98 to 176.

That contest was an ugly thing to happen, and furnished no small uneasiness to me during the suspense of it. Had it ended favourably for them the effects would soon have been serious indeed—would lead me too far."[1]

It was during Moore's Primacy that the efforts—the patient, persevering efforts—of Churchmen in America for the appointment of bishops in such of the American Colonies as were, speaking broadly, Episcopalian were crowned with success. We have called attention to the raising of this question from time to time during the eighteenth century. We have seen how Tenison, Sherlock, Butler, Potter, and Secker had advocated, even pressed, the step, and how it had been opposed by the Nonconformists both in England and America, mainly because they feared the introduction into America with bishops of the temporal privileges which in the long course of ages, and as the result of the course of English history, had gathered round an English or an Irish bishop. Now we have to record how the wishes of Churchmen received fulfilment.

American Independence had increased the difficulty of the Bishop of London supplying America with clergymen. They could not swear allegiance to the British Crown, which every one ordained by an English bishop had to; so Lowth, to whom some candidates for orders from the Southern States had applied for ordination, asked for and in 1784 obtained an Act to meet the difficulty. It is described in a contemporary letter by one of Moore's chaplains, who says:

"His Grace showed me the short Bill which receives the royal assent to-morrow, empowering the Bishop of London, or any other bishop he may appoint, to ordain Americans or others belonging to foreign jurisdiction without taking the oath of allegiance now required."[2]

[1] Addl. MSS, Brit. Mus., 34424, f. 284.
[2] Nichols' *Illustrations of Literature*, vii. 465.

As far back as April 1783 a convention of clergy of Connecticut had applied to the Archbishop of York, Canterbury being vacant, to consecrate Seabury Bishop of Connecticut. They urged that failing such consecration a plan was on foot "to constitute a nominal episcopate by the united suffrages of presbyters and laymen."[1] Trinity Church, New York, even then richly endowed, supported the petition of Connecticut. But the oath of allegiance created a difficulty. A bishop ordained in England must take the oath of allegiance to the English Crown. Seabury was a subject of the United States, and would take no such oath. So recourse had to be had to the Scottish bishops, by whom he was consecrated on 14th November 1784.

On 27th September 1785 a General Convention of the Church was held at Philadelphia, when the Constitution of the Church and the revision of the Liturgy were discussed. Clerical and lay deputies attended the Convention from the states of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, and South Carolina. The Convention first made up a "Proposed Book," being the Book of Common Prayer with such modifications as seemed requisite. These included the omission of the Nicene and Athanasian Creeds and of the Descent into Hell in the Apostles' Creed. The omission of the first four petitions in the Litany was proposed by a layman, the Hon. Mr. Page, afterwards Governor of Virginia, on the ground that the word "Trinity" was unauthorised by Scripture. But even the mover was half-hearted in support of his motion, and it was lost without a division. They also addressed to the archbishops and bishops of England a formal request, dated 5th October 1785, for the consecration of bishops for the American Churches. "The petition which we offer to your venerable body is that from a tender regard to the religious interests of thousands in this rising empire—professing

[1] *Life of Bishop White*, 325.

the same religious principles with the Church of England —you will be pleased to confer the episcopal character on such persons as shall be recommended by this Church in the several states here represented." True to their democratic constitution, the Convention placed on record its " desire and plan that the bishops asked for should have no temporal honours as the English archbishops and bishops had as Lords of Parliament, and that their reputation and usefulness would considerably depend on their assuming no higher title or style than would be due to their spiritual employments"; and the Convention wished that the bishops appointed should " have no other title than the Rt. Rev. A. B., Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in C. D., and might not use any such style as is usually descriptive of temporal power and precedency."

But rumours reached the ears of the archbishops and bishops of the Mother Church that views Presbyterian and almost Socinian in their character had found favour in the Philadelphia Convention. The archbishops and bishops, as the authorities of an Established Church are rightly wont to be, were cautious. They addressed a reply to their suppliants, dated 24th February 1786, in which they said that the address of 5th October 1785 had been received and considered with that true and affectionate regard which the English Episcopate had always shown towards their episcopal brethren in America. They went on to say that while making every allowance for the difficulties of the applicants' situation, they could not help being afraid that in the proceedings of their Convention some alterations may have been adopted or intended which the difficulties of the situation did not seem to justify. The archbishops' and bishops' knowledge of these alterations was no more than what had reached them through private and less certain channels. The reply went on : " While we are anxious to give every proof

not only of our affection, but of our facility in forwarding your wishes, we cannot but be extremely cautious lest we should be the instruments of establishing an ecclesiastical system which will be called a branch of the Church of England, but afterwards may possibly appear to have departed from it essentially either in doctrine or discipline." This reply was signed by Moore, his colleague at York, and seventeen of the bishops.

The Philadelphia Convention replied on 26th June 1786. This enclosed a copy of the American proposed Ecclesiastical Constitution and Book of Common Prayer, and repeated the request of the Convention for the consecration of two bishops.

This communication seems to have crossed another letter from the two archbishops. This, after stating the rather piecemeal receipt in England of the American Liturgy, went on: "Not to mention a variety of verbal alterations, of the necessity or propriety of which we are by no means satisfied, we saw with grief that two of the confessions of our Christian faith, respectable for their antiquity, have been entirely laid aside: and that even in that which is called the Apostles' Creed an article is omitted which was thought necessary to be inserted with a view to a particular heresy in a very early age of the Church, and has ever since had the venerable sanction of universal reception."

The letter went on to say that in the hope that these defects would be remedied the archbishop had prepared a Bill to enable them to consecrate American bishops, and detailed the safeguards required to secure that proper persons only should be offered for consecration.

Moore duly obtained from Parliament an Act (26 Geo. iii. c. 84), empowering him to consecrate "to the office of a bishop persons being subjects or citizens of countries out of His Majesty's Dominions," and on 4th July 1786 he sent this with the following letter to the deputies in America:

" CANTERBURY, *4th July* 1786.

" GENTLEMEN,—The enclosed Act being now passed I have the satisfaction of communicating it to you. It is accompanied by a copy of a letter and some forms of Testimonials which I sent you by the packet of last month. It is the opinion here that no more than three bishops shd be consecrated for the U.S. of America, who may consecrate others on their return if more be found necessary. But whether we can consecrate any or not must yet depend on the answers we may receive to what we have written.—I am yr humble servant,

" J. CANTUAR."

The Convention met again at Wilmington on 10th October 1786. The conveners felt the importance of the situation. " We sat up," says one of them, " the whole of the succeeding night digesting the determinations in the form in which they appear in the journal."

" When they were brought into the Convention, little difficulty occurred in regard to what was proposed concerning the retaining of the Nicene and the rejecting of the Athanasian Creed. But a warm debate arose on the subject of the Descent into Hell in the Apostles' Creed." Its retainer was at last carried. " But," says the writer, " the result was not owing to the having a majority of votes ; but to the nullity of the votes of those Churches in which the clergy and the laity were divided." [1]

The Convention elected three divines, William White, Samuel Provoost, and David Griffith, for consecration as bishops. Griffith was ill, but on Thursday, 2nd November, White and Provoost embarked at New York with the necessary testimonials and an official copy of the Act of the Convention modifying the proposed Prayer Book. White wrote from England to his committee letters telling how the travellers fared, and from these we get the following :

" After a passage in which we had some tempestuous, although for the most part pleasant weather, we made

[1] *Life of Bishop White*, 133.

the lights of Scilly on Monday, 20th November, and the next day landed in good health at Falmouth."[1]

Owing to "sundry incidents" they did not reach London till 29th November. On 3rd December, under the friendly auspices of Mr. Adams, the American Ambassador, they paid their respects at Lambeth, where they had "a polite and condescending reception" from Moore—such as they felt "entirely answerable to the sentiments which we had been taught to entertain of this great and good archbishop."

On 21st December the two "dined at Lambeth with Moore—having every reason to be satisfied with their reception and entertainment. Moore asked for a short delay, to make sure all his brother bishops approved of what he was doing."

The Americans visited Lowth, the learned Bishop of London—but he was infirm and ill, and was seized the following day with the attack of illness of which he died.

On 19th February they attended Moore again at Lambeth; he waived the omission of the Athanasian Creed, being satisfied that the doctrine of the creed is retained in many places of the Prayer Book.

He was nervous about the easy manner in which the degradation of bishops had been originally proposed, and when that article had been altered said, "Yes, and much for the better." He excused his being "circumspect," as there had been "reports and apprehensions."

He was frightened at the proposed selections from the Psalms; and when pressed whether he objected to the omission of some portions of the Psalms from public worship rather evaded an opinion, saying that he had not fully considered that subject—but feared the sense being broken by omissions.[2]

They dined again at Lambeth on a public day, and before dinner followed the archbishop through a suite of rooms till they found themselves in the chapel,

[1] *Life of Bishop White*, 139. [2] *Ibid.*, 149.

in which were the two chaplains in their surplices. One of them read the Litany. Dinner followed.

On 2nd February Moore introduced the two " to Geo. III. They thanked him for his licence to convey the episcopal succession to the Church in America." Geo. III.'s reply was, " His Grace has given me such an account of the gentlemen who have come over that I am glad of the present opportunity of serving the interests of religion."

On the 4th February 1787 they were consecrated in Lambeth Chapel by Moore, Markham of York and the Bishops of Bath and Wells and Peterborough assisting. Moss, the Bishop of Bath and Wells, the two new bishops were specially glad to have joining in the ceremony, as he was credited with having felt the most strongly about the American omission of the Descent into Hell. Drake, one of Moore's chaplains, preached, his text being " Let all things be done decently and in order." Moore had asked a particular friend to preach and had given him a sketch of the sermon the archbishop wanted. But domestic calamity prevented the friend coming, and the chaplain had at short notice to preach. White and Provoost were styled respectively Bishop of New York and of Philadelphia. They were, says the *Gentleman's Magazine*, " elegantly entertained by His Grace." Their own account is that they spent the remainder of the day with the archbishop and bishops, and that the leave-taking was " affectionate on both sides."

The Americans insisted on paying their own fees, £14, 3s. 1d., which were not allowed by Moore to include the fees which an English bishop would have paid to persons of the Archbishop's Court and of his household.

The newly consecrated bishops left London on 5th February, reached Falmouth on 10th February. The wind was not favourable for sailing for seven days ; but they landed at New York on the afternoon of Easter Day, after exactly seven weeks' voyage.

Those who are interested in the earlier parts of the story we have just told can see at Lambeth a book containing facsimiles of the Documents—issued by the Historical Club of the American Church.

The year 1787 saw also the consecration by Moore of the first English colonial bishop. There had been for many years a flourishing Church in Nova Scotia, and its numbers had been increased by the arrival of many American loyalists during and after the War of Independence. In the summer of 1787, Nova Scotia was created by Letters Patent a see, and Dr. Charles Inglis, Rector of Trinity Church, New York, who had been obliged to fly to England during the war, was appointed Bishop of Nova Scotia, and on the 12th August he was consecrated by Archbishop Moore at Lambeth Chapel, the assisting prelates being the Bishops of Rochester and Chester, and the preacher White, the Laudian Professor of Arabic at Oxford.[1]

There is little or nothing on ecclesiastical or religious matters in Moore's correspondence with his brother-in-law. The letters are those of one public servant of the State to another, full of keen comments on passing events, and the conduct of Ministers; for his brother-in-law especially when he is away on a foreign mission the archbishop always holds a brief.

His incidental comments, however, on such events as Warren Hastings' trial are interesting. He writes before the trial had begun on 22nd May 1787:

"It was a melancholy sight yesterday to see Hastings at the Bar. The general appearance in a very full House was that of a man very indifferent and unconcerned about what was going on, and his appearance was proper, neither daunted nor insolent."[2]

Moore earned a good word, and it must be counted to his credit, from William Wilberforce. That great

[1] *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1787, pp. 735–830.
[2] Addl. MSS, Brit. Mus., 34424, f. 460.

philanthropist was endeavouring in 1787 to get a Royal Proclamation against Vice and Immoralities issued, and to form a Society in London for the further execution of the laws against these things. Wilberforce writes to one of his sympathisers in the North on the 29th May 1787: "It would give you no little pleasure could you hear how warmly the Archbishop of Canterbury expresses himself; the interest he takes in the good work does him great credit, and he assures me that one still greater to whom he has opened the subject in form," approves the plan.[1]

Moore's attitude on the Slave Trade, which began to be a burning question early in his Primacy, is disappointing, and seems to point to his being dominated by a dread of change even when it meant the abolition of a tremendous evil. 1788 was an important year in the development of the Abolition movement. In February Wilberforce gave notice of his intention to move the House on the subject, and Pitt set up a Privy Council Committee of Inquiry on it. In May, in Wilberforce's absence through illness, Pitt moved that the House would next session take the whole question into consideration. On this occasion Sir Wm. Dolben called attention to the horrible sufferings of the slaves on their passage from Africa to the West Indies. He said that each morning the overseers had to unchain the carcases of those who had died from their sufferings from the bodies of their fellow-sufferers to whom they had been fastened. Such an impression was made on the House that very shortly afterwards Dolben introduced a Bill to regulate the transit of slaves from Africa to the West Indies. It required the numbers to be limited, surgeons to keep accounts, and captains to take sanitary precautions. Pitt supported the Bill, and it became law. Moore comments on it to Auckland, and contents himself with saying, "It is a cursed trade, but too deeply rooted to be forcibly and at once eradicated." In 1789 Wilberforce

[1] *Life of Wilberforce*, i. 130.

moved his celebrated twelve Resolutions touching the whole slave traffic.

The proposal to repeal the Test and Corporation Act was brought forward again in the session of 1789; but the French Revolution had frightened people, and postponed the granting of this as of so many other reforms for about thirty years, the proposal of 1789 being lost by 122 to 102.[1]

In May 1789 Lord Stanhope tried to introduce a Bill to relieve members of the Church of England from old ecclesiastical penalties; he sought to abolish the laws imposing penalties on not going to church, on not fasting, on excommunication, and also to abolish penalties under the canons of the Church. On the second reading Moore spoke and saw great danger in the repeal of the statutes imposing penalties for not going to church and in allowing free discussion of religious matters. Though some statutes wanted repealing, he objected to this Bill going any further, and it was lost; Lord Stanhope observing in reply "that if the right reverend bench would not let him load away their rubbish by cartloads he would endeavour to carry it off in wheel-barrows!"

Of the kind we have noted are Moore's comments about the King's health on his first attack of mental disturbance in the winter of 1788–89. The dislocation of public affairs caused by the King's temporary incapacity was made all the more acute by the tension which existed between the Prince of Wales, afterwards George IV., and his father. Fox, of course, was the Prince's friend. If the King was *non compos* there must be a Regent: that must be the heir to the throne, as if the King were dead: should such Regent have the full powers of the Crown, or what restrictions should be placed on them? All these were points on which Ministers and Parliament had to adjudicate, and the fact of there being a King's party and a Prince's party made the adjudication more painful. Even when the

[1] *Parl. Hist.*, xxviii. 1.

poor monarch was examined by physicians, there was Warren representing the Opposition, and Francis Willis representing the Government.

Fortunately George III.'s recovery in January 1789 from his first attack of illness got rid of a very difficult situation.

It was in the preceding November and December that the King was worst—feverish, deranged, sick in body and mind. There is a letter in the Egerton MSS in the British Museum from the archbishop, dated the 8th November 1788, in which he says : " My anxieties are very great indeed, and every moment increasing from the distance I am at from the subject which engrosses my whole heart and from the doubt I feel about the propriety of my attending in person at Windsor. I am led by every principle of attachment and respectful affection, as well as by that duty which peculiarly belongs to my situation, to make a humble offer of my personal attendance and services in any possible situation in which they may be acceptable." He speaks of his " fear of increasing public alarm."[1]

On the 29th January 1789, Moore writes :

" Dr. Willis insists that the symptoms of the malady are become much more favourable than at his former examination, that the time when a recovery may be expected no mortal man can say, but that the patient will completely recover he has in consequence of his experience and observations the strongest ground of hope—that he reads with attention and diligence and converses with more of both than he could a few months ago."

In the course of February the archbishop reports :

" I saw Mr. Pitt while I was out. He was just come from Kew, and brought from thence everything that can encourage hope.

" The King walks with the Queen daily, converses and lives much with her and the princesses : has seen

[1] Egerton MSS, Brit. Mus., 2182, f. 58.

others of ordinary rank, and some of higher, and all this with perfect calmness, moderation, and accurate recollection."

Some of our readers may like to be reminded that Dr. Francis Willis who had the chief charge of the King was a clergyman, not a doctor at all. He was Rector of Wapping, and during twenty-eight years kept an asylum for insane persons in Lincolnshire. His two sons, one of whom, Dr. John Willis, was by profession a physician, were associated with him in charge of the royal patient, but the father was in chief charge. He had very successfully treated the mother of the wife of one of the equerries, General, afterwards Earl, Harcourt, and she brought forward his name. Willis was all for a kind treatment of the case, no " pretences, vexations, or unnecessary restraints."[1] The King had been denied a razor at his toilet, and a knive and fork at his table. Willis at once restored them, and with the best results.

In May 1791 Moore found himself able to support both by his voice and by his vote the measure which Sir John Mitford, afterwards the first Lord Redesdale, introduced to remit certain penalties to which Roman Catholics were exposed. Both Pitt and Fox supported the measure. The penalties were so many that the mere enumeration of them in Burns' *Ecclesiastical Law* took up seventy pages. Mitford proposed by his Bill not to enable a Roman Catholic to sit in Parliament or to fill any office from which he was then excluded, but that such of them as took an oath in the form provided by the Bill should be exempted from the severe penalties which a series of statutes imposed. The Bill passed the Commons unanimously. In the Lords Moore cautiously approved the Bill in its general principle, though he did not wish to " destroy wholesome regulations respecting the Protestant Religion." Old Thurlow, the

[1] Stanhope's *Life of Pitt*, ii. 2.

grim Chancellor, happened to be away ill that day, and the Bill got through.

In 1791 Moore was the recipient of a letter from Pitt, proposing a scheme for the Commutation of Tithes. The subject is a technical one, and for the benefit of our readers who are neither landowners, farmers, nor lawyers we add a note of explanation. Tithes represented the one-tenth of the produce of the soil which the Mosaic Law devoted to the service of God. This involved an agreement between the landowner and the titheowner what the land had produced and what was the value of such produce. Two difficult questions these on which quarrelling was easy. So even in early days the tithe was very commonly "commuted" or exchanged for a money payment either fixed or readily capable of being fixed. It was not till 1836 that an Act of Parliament substituted for the tithes in kind a rent-charge, the amount of which was determined by a seven years' average of the wheat, barley, and oats produced.

Pitt's letter ran:

"*December* 16, 1791.

"My Lord,—I took the liberty of mentioning to your Grace not long since that some suggestions had been brought under my view respecting a General Commutation of Tithes for a corn rent conformably to a plan which was adopted in the instance of two or three parishes by separate Enclosure Bills in the course of the last Session. A paper has been drawn up at my desire stating shortly the principal considerations which seem to arise out of this proposal, and according to your Grace's permission I have the honour of enclosing it."[1]

After reserving his final opinion on the merits of the new plan, Pitt goes on that the whole subject seems of the most serious importance, and "there are appearances which but too strongly indicate that it is likely

[1] Stanhope's *Life of Pitt*, ii. 131.

to be agitated in different parts of the country." He invites the early attention of those who wish well to the Establishment to the proposal, and concludes: "Possibly, as the Archbishop of York is now at Bath, your Grace may have an opportunity of conversing with him and showing him the papers which I should be very desirous of his seeing.—I have the honour, etc.,

"W. Pitt."

Lord Stanhope says:

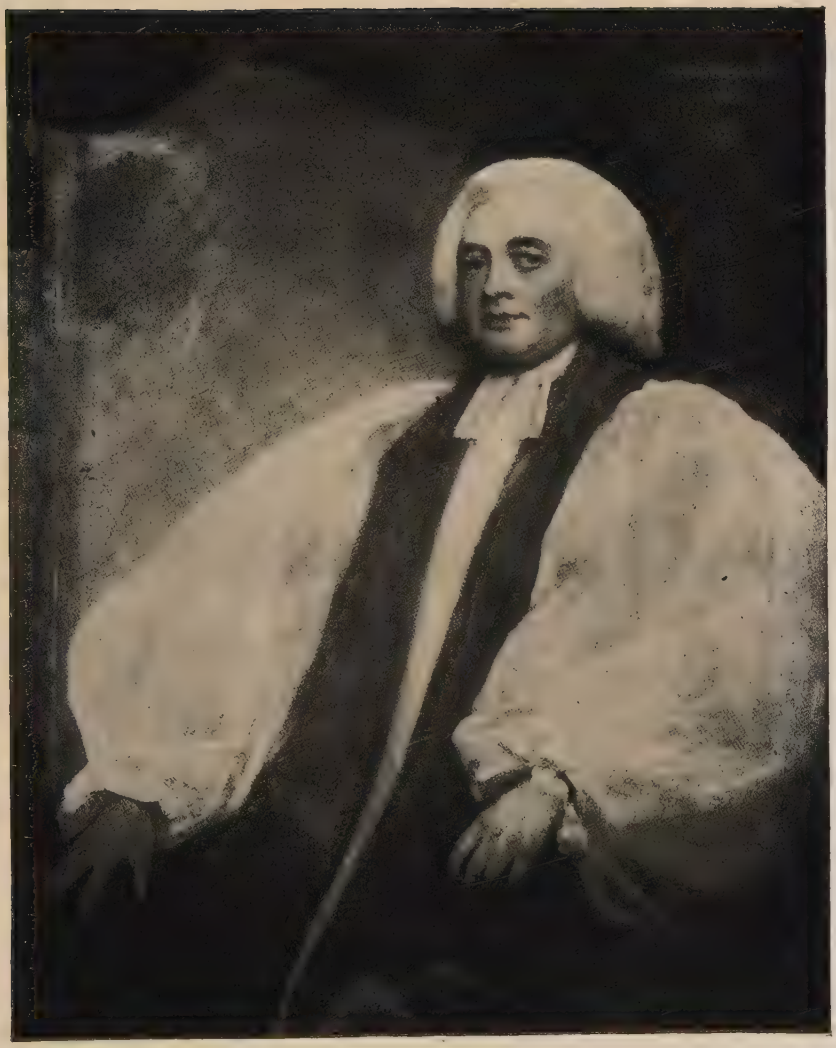
"I do not find the archbishop's reply among Mr. Pitt's papers. Since, however, the measure in question was no further pursued, it is plain that the answer must have been discouraging. All friends of the Church will, I think, join in lamenting the error of judgment that was here committed. Why should the general Commutation of Tithes—a measure accomplished with such general assent and such excellent result some forty years later—have been without necessity and through many scenes of strife laid aside when a public-spirited Minister proposed it?"

On 8th April 1795, Moore married the future George IV. to the unfortunate Caroline of Brunswick. He thus describes the ceremony. The evidence by which the archbishop satisfied himself that the bridegroom had not previously married Mrs. Fitzherbert seems to us weak. He says:

"The crowd at St. James' last night was immense and the heat intolerable. I felt my business a very solemn one indeed, and never said my prayers in my life under more impression and fervency. The Prince's mind was certainly and very seriously affected both in the service and after the service, but not in that part of the service from which one might be led to fear he had upon his mind a feeling that he had before bound himself by solemn engagements. There I saw no embarrassment."[1]

It was natural that Archbishop Moore should be much interested in the suggested marriage—for matters

[1] Addl. MSS, Brit. Mus., 34453, f. 230.



JOHN MOORE

(From the Painting by GEORGE ROMNEY)

[*To face p.* 374

at one time almost reached that point—between Pitt and Miss Eleanor Eden, Lord Auckland's eldest daughter. Pitt at Holwood was a near neighbour of the Aucklands at Beckenham. Miss Eden was beautiful and of superior mental qualities. At the end of 1796 Pitt was in love, but he was pecuniarily embarrassed and not in a position to make an adequate provision for a wife. So the matter came to nothing, and not unnaturally a slight estrangement followed between the Prime Minister and Lord Auckland and his family. The archbishop regretted this, and on the 17th February 1797 wrote to Lord Auckland :

" I am not easy at the separation which prevails at present, and which may too probably continue to prevail if not speedily put an end to by increasing reluctance on each side to take the first step. I deprecate this particularly on account of the very critical state of public affairs which makes it, to my feelings, of importance to the country that such a separation should be immediately put an end to. And besides that consideration I am persuaded that it will be a relief to both your minds to meet, though the first moment will be unpleasant. . . . You wait for him to begin : I think he can't do it : he does not know what he is to expect in the meeting. I think after what the Speaker[1] said it may be easily and naturally set right in that medium without any step on your part unfit for you to take or that your feelings ought to revolt at. I think what the Speaker said of your talking together some morning was in its intention a proposal, and its effect rests with you. He is a right-minded and honourable man. . . . I feel what I am saying is a duty to the country and to the individuals concerned in whose happiness I am also heartily interested."[2]

1800 was a year of great anxiety and distress. War with France, anxiety about Ireland, Habeas Corpus again and again suspended, a bad harvest, riots, great distress.

[1] Mr. Addington knew the secret of Mr. Pitt's attachment.

[2] Addl. MSS, Brit. Mus., 34454, f. 112.

On the 20th February 1800, Moore proposed in the House of Lords an agreement to be signed voluntarily with the object of relieving the prevalent want. After referring to the scarcity of corn and the inconveniences and distress of the lower orders, he said "that he did not recommend direct legislative interference." He proposed an agreement by which the signatories should bind themselves not to consume or permit to be consumed in any week within their respective families more wheaten bread than in the proportion of one quartern loaf for each individual, and to discontinue within their families all pastry. This agreement was carried in the form of a Resolution and ordered to be laid on the table for signature by any lord.

Moore became more and more opposed to change as old age came on. His views generally fell in with those of his distinguished brother-in-law, Lord Auckland; and while the latter was a colleague and supporter of Pitt, the archbishop supported Pitt. But there is no doubt that he interfered at the end of 1800 to stimulate and strengthen George III.'s opposition to Catholic Emancipation. Though there was no engagement that the Union of Great Britain with Ireland passed in 1800 should be followed by Emancipation of the Roman Catholics, there was an understanding to this effect, and Pitt wished it. George III. had, of course, an insuperable objection to any such measure. Through the autumn of 1800 the Chancellor, Lord Loughborough, was staying with the King at Weymouth and, disloyally to Pitt and his colleagues in the Cabinet, was bolstering up the monarch's obstinate opposition to Catholic Relief. Lord Auckland seems to have worked with the Chancellor. Perhaps he called in his brother-in-law's help. Lord Stanhope says: "Certain it is that in the course of this autumn the archbishop received from some quarter a private hint that a Roman Catholic Relief Bill was in contemplation, and addressed a letter to the King

at Weymouth strongly deprecating any such design."[1] Backed up by his Primate, George III. grew more obstinate than ever, and on the 5th February 1801 Pitt's splendid administration of more than seventeen years came to an end.[2] Lord Stanhope's reflections on the great benefits that would have accrued to the nation if Catholic Emancipation had been allowed to pass in 1801, and not been postponed till 1829, will now command almost general assent. Our point is to record that in 1801 our archbishop intervened, and not with a statesmanship marked by any great wisdom.

Moore died on the 18th January 1805, in his seventy-fourth year; and, like so many of his recent predecessors, was buried at Lambeth, the funeral being conducted with great solemnity, with a long procession of archiepiscopal domestics, male and female, and the concourse of a large crowd. Moore had had friends among the Royal Family, and Royalty was represented by the Duke of Cambridge.

His biographer says of Moore that while archbishop he "avoided all other activity but that of Christian piety and spiritual duty. He scarcely took any part in political disputes; neither did he adopt any steps to inflame the minds of the Dissenters on the one hand, nor to alarm the friends of Orthodoxy on the other."

He only printed two sermons: one preached before the Lords in 1771, and the other on the Fast Day in 1781.

Moore was well spoken of by the great Bishop Beilby Porteous of London. Writing to Bishop Percy of Carlisle on 23rd January 1805, he says: "If you was at all acquainted with Archbishop Moore, who was a very amiable and worthy man, you would be concerned to hear of his death. No successor is yet appointed, but it will probably be either the Bishop of Lincoln or the Bishop of Norwich."[3]

Moore was twice married. His first wife was the

[1] *Life of Pitt*, iii. 267. [2] *Ibid.*, iii. 281.
[3] Nichols' *Illustrations of Literature*, viii. 379.

sister of Sir James Wright, Chief Justice of S. Carolina, and afterwards resident at Venice. His second wife was the sister of Sir Wm. Eden and Lord Auckland, and, we are told, a very celebrated beauty. Two of his daughters died of consumption : he left five sons, for most of whom—according to the ideas then and for many decades afterwards prevalent—he provided, by means of posts at his disposal as archbishop. Three of his sons, George, Charles, and Robert, were Joint-Registrars of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury. George was Rector of Wrotham ; Robert, Rector of Latchingdon, Essex. Two other sons, John and William, were Joint-Registrars of the Vicar-General's Office. One of his sons died in 1865. Mr. Hore, in his *History of the Church of England*,[1] says that he held two sinecure rectories. He was Rector of Hunton, Rector of Eynesford, Rector of Latchinford, Canon of Canterbury, and Registrar in the Will Office in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury.

The greatest amount of the Archiepiscopal Revenue in any one year during Moore's tenure of office is stated to have been £13,000, the average £11,000. The first-fruits to the Crown and fees of office payable by Moore's successor are said to have amounted to £12,000. His son, who died in 1865, is said to have received from the Church in all £753,647 and his average income to have been not less than £12,000.

Even granting that £13,000 in 1800 was in income the equivalent of £25,000 nowadays, the archbishops of the eighteenth century were great potentates, if not princes. A coach and six horses, a private State barge on the Thames, with its liveried crew, properly belonged to such a dignitary. His hospitalities were on almost a royal scale, ordinary as well as private. Much that St. Paul would have enforced on a bishop may have become blurred, but not the apostolical hospitality. There is a note in the Library at Lambeth that in the olden days when the presentations at Court numbered only 400,

[1] ii. 225.

any gentleman who had been presented at Court could come wearing full Court dress on Tuesdays, put their names down before 11 a.m., and dine at Lambeth Palace. In Archbishop Howley's time, when the number of presentations had so largely increased as to make this privilege impossible, it was given up.

Not much of Moore's work is left at Lambeth. Allen says[1] to the Great Gallery he added a bow window.

[1] Allen, 185.

CHARLES MANNERS SUTTON

1805–1828

In Moore's successor, Manners Sutton, we revert to the aristocratic type of Primate, of which Cornwallis, Moore's predecessor, had been a specimen. Though he had married a wife of very good family, Moore himself was, as we have said, of humble birth. In the line of archbishops he is flanked on either side by one born in the nobility.

Manners Sutton, as we shall detail later on, seems to have owed his appointment to Canterbury entirely to the personal liking of George III. for him, and, as we shall tell, also for his wife. The two men had much in common, and on questions of policy, such as Catholic Emancipation, Sutton's views were entirely his monarch's. Like Moore, Sutton held the Primacy for nearly a quarter of a century. In home affairs it was a period—at least in the early part of it—of marking time, if not of absolutely standing still. The great lawyer, John Lord Eldon, a great favourite of George III. —when he pulled the Great Seal out of his inner coat pocket and gave it to Eldon, he told him he gave it him from his heart, and it was true—was chief Home Minister, and disliked change of every kind, and he had the memory of the French Revolution, which had thoroughly frightened the average Briton, to back him. To every suggestion of reform or improvement two arguments were put forward: (1) In the British constitution and in the British laws and customs as now existing Providence has given you the best machine for producing general happiness that the world has

seen : there is a risk in changing any part of it. (2) If you concede this reform for which there is much to be said, where are you going to stop ?

There are intelligent persons who think that in these reasonings both premises and conclusions are open to question in every part ; but there are other persons, as or perhaps even more intelligent, who in the twentieth century use the same arguments in slightly different dress.

Charles Manners Sutton was born on the 14th February 1755. He was the fourth son of Lord George Manners Sutton, the third son of the third Duke of Rutland. His mother was Diana, daughter of Thomas Chaplin, Esq., of Blankney, Lincolnshire. The archbishop was one of a family of twelve, seven sons and five daughters, of whom one son and one daughter died young. The sixth of the seven sons, Lord Manners, became Lord Chancellor of Ireland. The third son was blown up in H.M.'s ship *Ardent* in 1754.

Charles Manners Sutton and his younger brother, Lord Manners, were both educated at Charterhouse, and both went to Emmanuel College, Cambridge. Both brothers took their degree in 1777, the younger brother in honours outstripping the elder, being fifth wrangler, while the future archbishop was only fifteenth.

The archbishop was a believer in early marriages. The year after taking his degree, when he was only twenty-three, he married Mary, daughter of Thomas Thoroton of Sonviton in Nottinghamshire. The lady was his kinswoman, and there is ground for thinking the young pair ran away. The following anecdote is in Lord Eldon's anecdote book, and was told by him. On one occasion, says he, I and the Archbishop of Canterbury (Sutton) and many other lords were with George III. when His Majesty exclaimed, " I dare say I am the first king whose Archbishop of Canterbury and whose Chancellor had both run away with their wives. Was it not so, Chancellor ? "

"May it please Your Majesty, will you ask the archbishop that question first?" answered I. It turned the laugh to my side, for all the lords were beginning to titter. If this story be well founded—and certainly John Scott ran away with Bessie Surtees—Sutton's was a runaway match. She seems to have made him an excellent wife; and Sutton, in this respect rivalling, if not outstripping his own father, had by her three sons and ten daughters.

He proceeded M.A. in 1780, and was ordained priest and deacon by Markham, who was afterwards Archbishop of York during three of the years that Manners Sutton was Archbishop of Canterbury. Markham had an excellent reputation as a scholar at Oxford, but while archbishop put forward some Divine right opinion in a sermon. This gave rise to severe comment, the elder Pitt being especially critical of the archbishop's utterances. In a speech made after the news of the English disasters in America in the War of Independence had reached England, Chatham went so far as to blame Markham for the false sentiments which were so widely held as to England's duty to her American colonists. Markham, who professed himself no orator, but like Manners Sutton was of commanding physical presence, hinted that, though archbishop, he might be driven to resent by outward action some insults that might be levelled at him. He seems, however, to have confined his vengeance to voting with three other peers a few years later against a public funeral being given to Chatham.

In 1785 Sutton succeeded another Sutton in the family livings, the Rectory of Averham with Kelham, where the family seat was situate in Nottinghamshire, and Whitwell in Derbyshire, his brother being the patron of the former and the Duke of Rutland of the latter.

In 1791 he was appointed Dean of Peterborough, and in the following year he was raised to the Episcopal

Bench on the death of the excellent Bishop Horne, being made Bishop of Norwich.

The revenue of the See of Norwich was small, and it was reckoned an expensive see. In 1794 the patrons and friends of Manners Sutton obtained the Deanery of Windsor for him *in commendam*. Notwithstanding, Sutton, while at Norwich, got into debt. Of the three causes to which his biographer in the *Gentleman's Magazine* attributes this condition, the first two are innocent if not creditable, viz. " the diocesan's disposition " and " the claims of a numerous family." The third is more questionable, " the habits of high life." The biographer naïvely adds that these embarrassments " must have been painful to one who knew that it was the duty of a Christian, and much more of a Christian bishop, 'to owe no man anything'; and on his subsequent promotion to Canterbury he adopted with a becoming energy of character a system which enabled him to discharge all his incumbrances."

While still Bishop of Norwich, Manners Sutton seems to have attained popularity as a bishop. Mathias, publishing his satirical poem " Pursuits of Literature," in 1797, says, " Sutton ceased to claim the public love," and in a note says: " The Right Rev. Charles Manners Sutton, Bishop of Norwich, a prelate whose amiable demeanour, useful learning, and conciliating habits of life particularly recommend his episcopal character. No man appears to me so peculiarly marked out for the highest dignity of the Church *sede vacante*, as Dr. Sutton."

While at Norwich, Manners Sutton made his only appearance in print. He preached at Westminster Abbey before the Houses of Parliament on the Fast Day, 1794, which was held to mourn over the horrors of the French Revolution as well as the successes of the French army, and he preached before the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts in 1797. Usage required each of these sermons to be printed and published.

In 1797 he contributed to the *Transactions of the*

Linnæan Society, vol. iv. p. 173, "A Description of Five British Species of Orabanche." In his work on *Bishop Blomfield and his Times*, the late Dr. Biber alludes somewhat sneeringly to the fact of an archbishop printing little or nothing but a treatise on an obscure kind of plant; but if his duties were not thereby neglected, is it a disgrace to a clergyman, even of archiepiscopal rank, to be a competent botanist?

Planted at the Deanery at Windsor, Sutton was close to his royal master; and, if they were not so before, they soon became fast friends. As we have said, there was much about Sutton to please and attract George III. Sutton was a gentleman, and a pleasant one; he was of good reputation, without enough genius or learning to make him angular or unpleasant, and a stout supporter of things as they were. He was of fine dignified appearance, and when he was Archbishop of Canterbury and Markham of York, it was remarked that the two archbishops were at the same time the most exalted and the tallest prelates of the Church of England. It is even possible that the steady replenishment of the nursery of his neighbour at the Deanery by the periodical arrival of little daughters may have interested the domestically minded King, who was himself the father of a very large family, and no Malthusian; and may have pointed to the advantages of an increase in the happy father's income. The presence of the large family in the royal mind seems shown by the conversation with Pitt detailed below, and that George III. showed interest in his archbishop's numerous progeny is told by another of Lord Eldon's anecdotes, in which he relates that the King, speaking to Sutton of his large family, used the expression, "I believe your Grace has better than a dozen. "No, sir," replied the archbishop, "only eleven." "Well," replied the King, "is not that better than a dozen?"

Archbishop Moore's long illness ended in his death in January 1805. Of 1805 it is sufficient to say that it was the year of Trafalgar, which was fought on the 21st

October. All through the early part of the year Napoleon was collecting his armies at Boulogne and threatening the invasion of England, while in England some three hundred thousand volunteers had been drilling for home defence. Pitt, the saviour of England, if not of Europe, was for the second and last time Prime Minister. He had the highest opinion of Bishop Pretyman, who had been his tutor at Cambridge. Pretyman was a first-rate mathematician, and a high wrangler. From his Cambridge days to the very end of his life, Pitt maintained an intimate friendship with his old tutor. They corresponded by letter frequently. On his ecclesiastical appointments Pitt consulted Pretyman, and used and valued his help in the framing of the Government's financial measures. He had been made Bishop of Lincoln by Pitt in 1787, and in 1803 had taken the name of Tomline on acquiring valuable estates from an old gentleman whose acquaintance he made on a casual visit during an episcopal progress. The bishop's tender solicitude for his distinguished pupil extended to ministering to him on his death-bed. As was stated by Bishop Porteous in the letter we have quoted, many thought that he would be Moore's successor in the Primacy. There is no doubt that Pitt wished it. There is equally no doubt the King wanted the Bishop of Norwich to be advanced. Before Moore's death we find Lord Henley on the 7th December 1804 writing out to Lord Auckland at Calcutta: "Lady H . . . gives a good account of the archbishop. I understand that His Majesty is desirous should he die that Sutton should succeed him, but that Mr. Pitt insists on it being Lincoln, and that the question has been in debate between them."

According to a letter in the Croker MSS cited by Mr. Jesse in his *Memoirs of George III.*, the actual appointment of Sutton to Canterbury was made as follows :

The King received a message from Pitt that Archbishop Moore was dead, and that he would wait upon His Majesty next morning. The King suspecting the

cause, ordered his horse and rode over to Bishop Sutton, then residing at Windsor. He found he was at dinner with some friends, and sent in the servant to say a gentleman wished to speak to him. The bishop said immediately he could not go ; but something in the servant's manner made him change his determination. When he came out he found the King standing in a little dressing-room near the hall door. The King took him by both hands. " My Lord Archbishop of Canterbury," he said, " I wish you joy. Not a word ; go back to your guests." On Pitt's arrival the next day the King said to him he was sure he would be glad to have an opportunity of providing for a most deserving friend and relative. " A friend indeed," replied Pitt, " but your Majesty is mistaken as to there being any relationship." The King not minding him talked on, and then said, " It is such a good thing for his twelve children." This was quite too much for the Premier ; and he said, " Bishop Pretyman I am certainly most anxious to promote ; but he is not any relation, nor has he such a family." " Oho ! oho ! " said the King, " it is not Pretyman whom I mean, but Sutton." " I should hope," said Pitt, " that the talents and literary eminence . . ." " It can't be—it can't be ; I have already wished Sutton joy, and he must go to Canterbury." Pitt, it seems, was exceedingly angry at having been over-reached by the King. Lord Sidmouth told Dean Milman that he believed such strong language had rarely ever passed between a Sovereign and his Minister.

There is another account in a royal letter from Pitt, undated, but probably written in December 1804 :

" Mr. Pitt took the liberty of stating to yr Majesty, when he had last the honour of attending yr Majesty at Windsor, his anxious wish with a view to the expected vacancy of the archbishopric, to be allowed to recommend the Bishop of Lincoln as the fittest person to succeed to that most important station. As there continues to be great reason to suppose that the vacancy

will speedily take place, he requests yr Majesty's indulgence shortly to state the grounds on which that wish is founded. In doing so he hopes he shall not be misunderstood as wishing in the slightest degree to disparage the qualifications of the Bishop of Norwich, for whom he entertains a very high regard and a sincere friendship ; and whom he considers to be highly worthy of any mark of yr Majesty's favour and approbation."

The letter then goes on to enumerate Pretyman's merits during his nearly twenty years' tenure of the See of Lincoln, and also dwells on the close and uninterrupted friendship which has subsisted between the Bishop of Lincoln and Pitt himself for above thirty years. In the final draft of the letter which is still in existence the word " uninterrupted " is substituted for " intimate."

Pretyman was Dean of St. Paul's as well as Bishop of Lincoln, and the anxious minister closes his letter with a bait to his royal master or rather to his friend. " Should your Majesty," he winds up, " be pleased to accede to his earnest request, the Deanery of St. Paul's (which he understands to be now worth between three and four thousand pounds per annum) would, if your Majesty approves of it, furnish the means of placing the Bishop of Norwich in a very advantageous situation."

Perhaps Pitt did not realise that this latter course might have meant the monarch losing a congenial neighbour without adequate advantage to that neighbour.

However true or untrue Jesse's story may be in its details, George III. undoubtedly stuck to his friend, and Pitt was seriously annoyed.

He writes to the King on 22nd January 1805, after Moore's death, a letter on which from the numerous corrections and alterations in the draft in his own handwriting he seems to have bestowed much care :

" Downing Street,
January 22, 1805.

" It is with great reluctance that Mr. Pitt at any time reverts to any proposal which does not appear to

meet your Majesty's wishes, but he considers it on every account his duty not to disguise from yr Majesty how deeply his feelings are wounded and his hopes of contributing to your Majesty's service impaired by your Majesty's apparent disregard of his recommendation of the Bishop of Lincoln to succeed to the Archbishopric of Canterbury. He entreats yr Majesty humbly to reflect that such a recommendation appears uniformly to have been graciously accepted for a long course of time in every instance but that of the nomination of the last archbishop which, he says, took place in the interval between the resignation of one administration and the appointment of another. The King's refusal to comply with his request can hardly be understood by himself, and will certainly not be understood by the public in any other light than as a decisive mark of your Majesty's not honouring him with that degree of confidence which his predecessors have enjoyed."

The letter winds up :

" Mr. Pitt still flatters himself that when yr Majesty is fully aware of these considerations it cannot be your Majesty's intention to reduce him to so mortifying a condition. The sense of what he feels due to your Majesty's service and to himself, has made him anxious to submit this representation previous to his having the honour to attend your Majesty at the Queen's House to-morrow."

We do not know how things went at the Queen's House meeting of King and Minister, but George III. answered Pitt's letter at once. Lord Ashbourne calls the answer " polite but not very encouraging." Perhaps his mother's advice to George III. when he came to the throne, " Be a King, George, be a King," had sunk deep.

The royal letter ran :

(*Private.*)

" Windsor Castle, *January* 23, 1805.

" The King is ever hurt when he cannot bring himself to concur with Mr. Pitt in any matter which

Mr. Pitt seems to have at heart ; this he feels strongly on the present occasion, and has therefore continued silent on the vacancy of the Archbishopric of Canterbury ; indeed, it is but this morning that Lord Auckland is to deliver up the Seal of the late possessor, therefore it would scarcely have been proper to have taken any steps towards filling up the vacancy sooner. The King will certainly this day at the Queen's House hear whatever Mr. Pitt chooses to say on the subject ; but His Majesty by no means can view the Archbishopric in the light of a common Bishopric. It is the person on the bench on whom he must most depend, and of whose dignity of behaviour, good temper, as well as talents and learning he feels best satisfied ; the Archbishop as well as the King are for life.

" George R."

This letter appears to have been sent on to Pretyman, for it is in an envelope addressed " Private. To the Bishop of Lincoln. W. Pitt."

It is pleasant to learn that the Bishop of Lincoln took the matter quite calmly. He was blessed with an excellent, clever, and devoted wife, and it appears, says Lord Ashbourne, that she had no desire for the change.

Soon after Manners Sutton's elevation to the Primacy, matters began to move with regard to the acquisition of a new country palace for the see, in substitution for the old palace at Croydon. The site at Park Hill had not turned out well ; and during Moore's archiepiscopate for some reason or other the matter had slumbered ; but soon after Sutton's appointment Addington Manor, about three miles from Croydon, was suggested as a suitable property to form the archiepiscopal country home. The authorities were favourable. In 1807 the property was purchased from William Cole, Esq., and in April 1808, the Chancellor gave his consent. Addington Manor lies east-south-east of Croydon, about fourteen miles from London. From Croydon it forms a pleasant walk for a Londoner. Some high open land known as Addington Hills is passed on the way. The property

itself has a mansion house built by Alderman Trecothick in 1772, and about 1200 acres of land. The park is undulating and pretty : there are fine walled kitchen and fruit gardens sloping to the west, and generally the place has the air of a nobleman's country-seat of a pleasant and attractive kind. Archbishop Howley was very fond of it, greatly improved the park, and added chapel, library, and other rooms. Readers of Archbishop Tait's Life will remember how large periods in his anxious archiepiscopate were spent there, some of these times when the archbishop was gravely ill. The place remained the archbishops' home for just under a century, but in Archbishop Benson's time the question of getting rid of it was mooted. The desirability of the Archbishops of Canterbury having some house in Canterbury, more central for the diocese, which had largely lost its purely agricultural character, was insisted on. The quiet, shall we say the inaccessibility, which may well have constituted a charm of Addington in Manners Sutton's or Howley's eyes, was not at all what Archbishop Temple wanted. He took up the question strongly, refused as archbishop to pass even a single night there,[1] and in July 1878 Addington Manor was sold. In the beautiful village church or churchyard five archbishops — Manners Sutton, Howley, Sumner, Longley, and Tait—are buried, and many members of their families and households. The burials begin in the church, but as time goes on, get farther from it—to quiet corners of the churchyard.

It must be recorded—and we do not see how it can be recorded without shame—that in 1810 the archbishop and six other prelates voted against the Bill promoted by Sir Samuel Romilly, by which the death penalty ceased to be exacted for the offence of stealing privately to the amount of five shillings in a dwelling-house, and assisted in the rejection by the Lords of

[1] *Life of Archbishop Temple*, ii. 212.

such Bill which the Commons had passed. The great lawyer and philanthropist says: "I rank these prelates amongst the members who were solicited to vote against the Bill, because I would rather be convinced of their servility to Government than that, rejecting the mild doctrines of their religion, they could have come down to the House spontaneously to vote that transportation for life is not a sufficiently severe punishment for the offence of pilfering what is of five shilling value, and that nothing but the blood of the offender can afford an adequate atonement for such a transgression." Lord Ellenborough was a strong opponent of the change; "there was no knowing where this was to stop." Crime was common at this time: Heath, a good judge, had ninety-nine prisoners just about now at Maidstone, of whom he took credit to himself that he only left four to be hanged, three of them because they could bring no witnesses to character. In reading the public journals of one hundred and twenty or one hundred years ago nothing startles the reader of to-day more than the number of executions which were carried out. At Newgate or Tyburn from eight to twelve times a year, from six to a dozen persons were hanged—not infrequently including women, and the wretches were kept on the scaffold in the public gaze for three-quarters of an hour or more, while the Ordinary of Newgate went through the Devotions considered appropriate. Twenty-five years before, Burke, in the House of Commons, said that the number of convicts sentenced to transportation was estimated at not less than one hundred thousand. Newgate had five hundred and fifty-eight prisoners. Since 1820 many gaols have been closed, though the population has so largely increased.

On Court occasions Sutton's imposing presence appeared constantly. He married the Duke of Cumberland in 1815; in 1816 the Princess Charlotte of Wales, and the Duke and Duchess of Gloucester; in 1818

the Princess Elizabeth, the Duke of Cambridge, and the Duke of Clarence.

He crowned George IV. in 1821.

He was a constant attendant at the royal funerals.

In Parliament, Manners Sutton seems to have spoken on Church matters, and matters akin thereto, but rarely if ever on purely political questions. His first reported intervention in debate was in March 1805 on a Bill to repeal the provision of the Mortmain Act, which restrained the colleges at Oxford and Cambridge from buying advowsons. The main argument in support of the Bill was that the colleges had not enough livings to provide for all their members who were kept waiting a long time for college livings. The main argument against it was that the restraint was the legislative child of a very mighty man, Lord Hardwicke, and ought to be very cautiously interfered with. The well-being of the parishioners and the claims of the non-clerical fellows on the college revenues do not seem to have been much discussed. The archbishop on the motion to go into committee supported the Bill. He thought the colleges would be better patrons than the ordinary purchaser of an advowson, the succession to livings of college fellows would not be too rapid, and enough patronage would still be left to noble members of their Lordships' House, who dispensed it so well. It is of interest to note that the Bishop of London, Porteous, complained in the course of the debate that in the west of London there were chapels of ease, but few parish churches. The Bill was passed.

In the same year, the Roman Catholic petition from Ireland was presented by Lord Granville. Sutton spoke against the relief prayed for by the petitioners. He considered the petition the natural sequel of the numerous statutes in relief of the Roman Catholic disabilities passed during George III.'s reign. "It was for their lordships to determine in their character as

statesmen and legislators to what extent these concessions could with safety be carried. The substance of the petition was compressed into one sentence, an equal participation on equal terms of the full benefits of the British Laws and Constitution. It was no less than a request on the part of the Roman Catholics to legislate for a Protestant country. He was as attached to genuine toleration as any of their lordships. To destroy the fences which the wisdom and experience of their ancestors had erected round the Established Church was to do all in their power to excite that bad spirit of animosity and religious intolerance that disgraced the worst pages of history since the Reformation. He accordingly opposed the petition." The motion to proceed with the petition was lost in the Lords by 178 to 49.

In the Commons Fox introduced the petition, but it was lost by 336 to 124.

On the Bill to improve the position of stipendiary curates—in the course of the debate on which the Earl of Suffolk mentioned a case in the county of Lincoln when the duty of twenty parishes was in general performed by three curates—the Primate does not seem to have spoken ; but though passed by the Lords, it was thrown out by the Commons.

The following year the archbishop interposed in the House of Lords on a matter not wholly without interest even now. Apparently the Custom House retained a number of holidays or ecclesiastical festivals ; on days when business was in full swing elsewhere, as Lord Grenville pointed out, the merchant found to his inconvenience the doors of the Custom House shut. The archbishop, like a good Churchman, though deprecating the excessive number of holidays of Pre-reformation times, thought three or four, but at any rate two, more holidays particularly commemorative of the history of our Saviour might be retained, and moved an amendment supporting a holiday on the Epiphany.

The Bishop of St. Asaph claimed four—The Epiphany, The Annunciation, The Ascension, and St. John the Baptist's Day. But the archbishop's amendment was lost.

In 1808 the Bishop of London, Bishop Porteous, made another effort in the House of Lords with a view of improving the position of curates where the rector or vicar was non-resident. An Act of 1796 had allowed to the curate of a non-resident rector his house and £75 a year. But where the living was well endowed this was thought too much for the idle rector and not enough for the curate. The main object of the Bill, as expressed by Porteous, was to "take from those who did nothing a reasonable allowance for the curate who performed the whole of the service, for which the living itself was at first granted." The Bill proposed that where the living amounted to £400 or upwards, one-fifth of it should be allowed to the curate until he received £250. Sutton supported the principle of the Bill, and got it a second reading, though it was denounced as a violation of private property, a hardship on a man who had bought a living on the faith he should receive the full revenue of it, a weakening of the incitements to a young curate to work hard and rise in his profession. On the third reading Porteous failed to get the support not only of the mighty John on the Woolsack —this might have been expected—but also of several of his brother bishops; Sutton deserted him—weakly saying that though he was satisfied with the principle of the Bill, he thought some clauses might produce vexation—apparently to the non-resident rector!—and voted for the rejection of the Bill, which was rejected without a division.

Sutton's next parliamentary effort seems to have done him credit. Once or twice the question of the remarriage of persons divorced by Act of Parliament had come before the Lords, and they had indeed passed Bills forbidding the marriage of a woman whose marriage

had been dissolved for her misconduct with the partner of her guilt. But the Commons had thrown them out. Lord Auckland proposed a new standing order that every Divorce Bill should forbid the person whose marriage with the petitioner should be dissolved thereby to intermarry with the offending party on account of whose adultery with such person the marriage was so dissolved. Sutton supported the motion in what the report calls a very argumentative and eloquent speech, quoting Holy Writ in Greek and English, and dealing in an exhaustive manner with the whole question of marriage and divorce, though the reporter had to confess that he " made a variety of remarks and used many arguments with which we are unable to deal." The order was carried. Some years afterwards on the consideration of a particular Divorce Bill, the archbishop on the highest grounds opposed the omission of the clause prohibiting the guilty parties from remarrying.

A year or two later Manners Sutton had to deal with the question of the licences granted under the Toleration Act of William and Mary, and the Amending Act of 19 Geo. III. c. 44, to Dissenting Ministers and Preachers. The matter was taken up by Lord Sidmouth, who, before his elevation to the peerage, had been Henry Addington and Speaker of the House of Commons. He was a man of honesty, industry, and good intelligence, though probably not gifted with the highest order of statesmanship. The Amending Act provided that every Dissenter making a declaration against Popery and declaring himself to be a Christian and a Protestant, on paying sixpence for his certificate was entitled to all the privileges granted by the Act of William and Mary to Dissenting Ministers, and was exempted from service in the Militia and in all parochial offices. Under this Act licences to preach were obtained at quarter sessions by persons of no education, by persons not of full age, and as to whose moral qualifications for the office of preacher or teacher little or nothing was known. As a

proof of the want of education of applicants, and particularly of their bad spelling, a return was published of eighteen different ways in which the words "dissenting minister," "teacher," "preacher," and "gospel" had been misspelt by the applicants in the case of two hundred and eighty-five licences taken out at Middlesex Sessions :

Preacher of the Gopel,
Preacher of the Gosple,
Precher of the Gospel,
Precher of the Gospell,
Pracher of the Gospell,
Preach of the Gospell,
Precher of the Gosple,
Precher of Gospell,
Miniaster of the Gospel,
Preacher of the Ghosper,
Preacher of teacher the Gospel Bappist,
Preecher of the Gospel,
Teacher of the Geouspel of Jesus Christ,
A discenting teacher,
Disenting teacher,
Decenting teacher,
Prashr of the Gospell,
Preicher of the Gospel.

A case was brought forward of an applicant for a licence who admitted he could neither read nor write, and being asked by the magistrate whether it was not strange to take the important office of a teacher when he was not able to peruse the Bible, said, "If you don't know what inspiration is, I do, for I have felt it."

Sidmouth proposed certain certificates of fitness from householders and others as to the respectability of candidates for licences and as to their fitness for being preachers or teachers. He had been told by many Dissenters that the evils then existing required amendment, and in 1809 the House of Lords without

opposition granted Returns of the Licences granted since 1760 as supplying information on which a Bill could be framed. Sutton on this occasion supported him. But when in 1811 he brought in his Bill, the Dissenters had—wrongly as it appears—got the idea that he threatened their liberties under the Toleration Acts. About seven hundred petitions from Dissenters were presented against it: Whigs like Lord Holland, Lord Erskine, and Lord Grey spoke against it. There was nothing to make the Tory Churchmen support it, and it was negatived without a division. This course Sutton, posing as having kindly feelings for the Dissenters, recommended as being their wish. Sidmouth unquestionably was hardly treated in the matter.

In Church matters generally Sutton was the friend of the men who represented the best part of the religious laity of the day—men like Joshua Watson. Watson may indeed be said to have been for the first quarter of the nineteenth century, or a great part of it, the lay archbishop—chief guardian and overseer—of the English Church.

The central decade of Sutton's primacy, from, say, 1810 to 1820, saw remarkable movement in three important branches of Church work: religious education, foreign missions, and church building. Each movement was connected with a great Church society: of each Watson was, if not the originator, a very leading promoter.

Englishmen are suspicious, perhaps unduly suspicious, of clerically minded laymen. But Watson was indeed a man of the most genuine piety and of very sound abilities. In truth, for many years he was—and no one would have acknowledged it more than the archbishop—Manners Sutton's right hand. The son of a wine merchant on Tower Hill, he became at twenty-one his father's partner, and in due course was established as a partner in a house of the same kind in Mark Lane. Here, chiefly by executing Government con-

tracts, he made a good fortune. But Joshua Watson's heart was in religious and philanthropic work, and that work he thought could best be done—perhaps could only be rightly done—by the Church established in this country. Though he had made a fortune out of it, he did not like business or its ways. His views thereon, expressed in a letter he wrote several years after his retirement to a young man who had been in his employ, after saying that many a thing which perhaps the custom of trade never allowed one to scruple about, or which the arts of competition in a market seemed to make a necessary part of self-defence, might after retirement possibly appear in more questionable colours, he says: "In my own case I rejoiced when the snare was broken; and I can truly add that the wish to make my escape, and to be secure against the risk of being again entangled therein and overcome, prevailed much in my early retirement from the profits of Mark Lane."[1]

Noscitur a sociis. They were a goodly band: "the Hackney phalanx," keen Churchmen, lavish of their wealth and of their time and energy for charity, and very capable men withal. Watson's brother was rector of Hackney, and he himself took a house there; James Allan Park, one of the best of judges—who that knows his statue in the vestibule of Lincoln's Inn can doubt his power; Richardson, another judge—linked with our own day by his daughter being the wife of the great Bishop Selwyn; Stevens, the founder of "Nobody's Friends"; and of clerics, Henry Handley Norris and William Van Mildert.

Watson retired from business in 1814 at the age of forty-three: but he had learnt businesslike methods and how to keep accounts. Sir George Rose—long at the Treasury—said of his accounts of the fund for relief of the distressed Germans that they were the most clear and exact he had ever seen.

[1] Churton, *Life of Watson*, 145.

In 1811 Manners Sutton was concerned with the educational efforts on the part of Churchmen which resulted in the formation of the National Society. The eighteenth century saw the foundation of a certain number of charity schools—some of which not only taught, but housed and fed their children. But these were the work of a few persons of exceptional charity and enlightenment. The ordinary citizen—none the less that he called himself a member of the Church of England—was satisfied that in a few country villages there was a dame school, and save that, that there should be no general education at all. Hannah More was prosecuted in the Ecclesiastical Court for instituting a village school at Wedmore.[1] A bishop preaching at St. Paul's in 1810 said that nearly two-thirds of the children of their labouring poor in this kingdom had little or no education.[2]

The attention of Churchmen seems to have been particularly called to the question by improvements in the method of education which in the first decade of the nineteenth century were brought before the public.

About 1790 a certain Dr. Andrew Bell had been employed as one of the East India Company's chaplains, and he had noticed that the Hindoos in their schools saved an enormous amount of time and labour by teaching their children not only, or chiefly, one by one, but in classes, and by employing some of the children as monitors to instruct their fellows. A class meant that there was a top of the class and there was a rivalry to get there: the correction of one child's fault was the instruction on that point of the whole class.[3] Bell introduced a system based on these principles into the male military orphan school at Madras. It worked well and the Indian authorities approved it. Bell returned to England in 1797 and published his educational efforts and their results. Joseph Lancaster, a remarkable man, either got hold of Bell's ideas or

[1] Hore, ii. 219. [2] Perry, *Church History*, iii. 165. [3] Perry, iii. 165.

about the same time evolved ideas similar to Bell's from his own consciousness. There was a contest for some years as to who was the original inventor. The better opinion gives these honours to Bell.[1] Lancaster's mother, a Baptist, kept a small shop at Bristol. The boy was wayward and ran away to sea : but Elizabeth Fry and some of her relations got hold of him, and finding in him an aptitude for teaching, started him with a school for thirty boys. This he carried on with his proper trade of a shoemaker. His principles of teaching by classes and monitors grew upon him : he began to lecture on them. In 1807 the British and Foreign School Society was founded to give effect to Lancaster's ideas.

With his Nonconformist parentage and Quaker associations, it is not surprising that he called himself a Quaker and advocated a national system of undenominational education, in which methods like Bell's should be followed. Even the Church Catechism he shut the doors of his school against. Leading Churchmen like Watson, Norris, and Bowles were roused. They appreciated two things—how slack the Church had become in education, and the value of the new methods of teaching. A wise Churchman, Davis, had established a "Bell" school at Leytonstone. Norris paid it a visit and told his friends what he saw. Marsh—then Lady Margaret's Professor at Cambridge, afterwards Bishop of Peterborough—joined the benevolent caucus and did much to rouse public opinion by a sermon preached at St. Paul's before the Society of Patrons of Charity Schools on 13th June 1811. In this he pleaded earnestly for the setting on foot of national schools in which Church teaching should have a place. The S.P.C.K. printed and widely circulated this discourse.

At a meeting at Watson's the formation of such a Society as the National Society had been resolved on.

[1] Churton, *Life of Watson*, 108.

Manners Sutton was appealed to. He gave his approval and declared his readiness to attend the first meeting of the Society. Of more, or perhaps less, importance, the countenance of the first gentleman in Europe, the Prince Regent, was obtained for the new Society, though in promising his support the Prince, according to a letter from Bowles to Watson, "speaking of the Church, called it an establishment interwoven with the constitution of the country." But an indifferent Churchmanship this!

By the end of September matters were ripe for a meeting of the Primate and the bishops in or near London with Watson, Norris, and their friends to arrange the details for launching the new Society on the world. Watson had drafted a prospectus. On 8th October Judge Allan Park writes to him:

"I would give the world to see you. I shall go to Bartlett's Buildings (the office of the S.P.C.K.) at 12 on the chance of seeing you. . . . I have just had a second letter from the Duke of Gloucester desiring that he may be one of the first subscribers, leaving it to me to decide whether fifty or a hundred guineas."

On 13th October Marsh writes from Cambridge:

"As we shall have many propositions to arrange and discuss preparatory to the meeting, I propose that we should dine together in a private room of some coffee-house near the Royal Exchange about half-past five on Tuesday. . . . In this interior cabinet we can arrange the propositions which are to be brought forward at the Cabinet Council."

A day or two before Mr. Justice Richardson had written rejoicing that the archbishop is disposed to take the lead and act the part that belongs to him.

The meeting so much prepared for was held on Wednesday, 16th October 1811. Manners Sutton took the chair, and the formation of the Society was resolved on. On Monday, 21st October, he again presided over a general meeting of the Society at Bow Church. Rules

were passed, and at the request of the meeting the archbishop undertook to ask the Prince Regent, who had promised general support, to be Patron of the Society. A circular letter signed "C. Cantuar" was issued giving particulars of the formation of the Society, and inviting suitable persons to join the committee. The Bar, prone to good works, was represented in the new Society by its auditors, Richards, afterwards Chief Baron, and Plumer, Master of the Rolls, and by Sir Vicary Gibbs, A.-G. Manners Sutton nominated Joshua Watson as the Society's first treasurer.

From the first, teaching teachers how to teach was a prominent part of the Society's work. In May 1812 premises were bought in Baldwin's Gardens, Holborn, and a central school fitted for six hundred boys and four hundred girls established. Admiral Lord Exmouth got a teacher from the Society for his flagship, and each battalion in the army had a sergeant as schoolmaster trained to teach according to the new system.[1]

The work of the National Society increased apace, and when in 1833 the Government for the first time made a grant—a small one—to the cause of education, it was found that the National Society had caused six hundred and ninety schools to be erected, the British and Foreign Society, the successors of Lancaster's society, a very much smaller number.

In the following year, 1812, Sutton was concerned with the proposals of the Government in aid of the Dissenters. Lord Liverpool, the Prime Minister, introduced a Bill relieving Dissenters from the annoying and vexatious provisions of the Five Mile Act and the Conventicle Act, and also giving some relief in respect of the Toleration Act.[2] The archbishop was, of course, consulted by the Premier before the Bill was brought in, and his general consent obtained. Sutton wanted to make one or two of the clauses more stringent, but Lord Liverpool declined. One of the archbishop's sugges-

[1] Churton, 118. [2] *Life of Lord Sidmouth*, iii. 112.

tions is interesting : he wanted to make the Bill apply in terms to " Dissenters." In reply Lord Liverpool wrote that the proposal would exclude the great body of Methodists from the benefits of the Bill, that a large proportion of these men professed to be members of the Church, attended its services, but claimed the privilege of meeting and associating for religious purposes in other places, and at other times, and pressed against any measure which, at any time, and more particularly under the then existing circumstances, would drive them to become professed Dissenters from the Church of England. The Act passed on 29th July 1812.[1]

In 1813 the archbishop spoke on a Bill making provision for the curates of small livings with a non-resident rector. Strangely enough Sutton opposed the Bill, but unsuccessfully. One speaker said : " Curates discharging the duties of four parishes and galloping about from church to church was what brought the Church into contempt."[2]

In 1814 we find the archbishop promoting a measure to relieve the clergy who, by inadvertence, had incurred penalties for non-residence. He professed to help two classes of clergy : (1) those who having two livings had omitted to notify the bishop of their non-residence on one of them ; (2) those who having had a licence for non-residence had omitted to renew it. Perhaps nowadays we should think archiepiscopal activity in legislation might be better employed ; but Lord Eldon told a curious story to the House in the course of the debate of a clergyman who went down to his living in the country and found a handsome parsonage house much larger than he wanted, as he had no family. An attorney in the place with a large family was living in a small convenient house which he proposed to exchange with the clergyman and reside at his parsonage. At the end of twelve months, when the attorney was applied to for

[1] Yonge, *Life of Lord Liverpool*, i. 433.
[2] *Parliamentary Debates*, xxxi. 299.

the difference of the rent, his answer was : " I owe you nothing, but you owe me £110, the penalty for non-residence," which he actually sued for and recovered ![1]

The year 1814 saw the consecration by Archbishop Manners Sutton of Dr. Middleton as the first Bishop of Calcutta. He was a distinguished man, of great piety and excellent scholarship. The latter he had shown by a memorable work on *The Doctrines of the Greek Article*; the former by a very zealous career as a London clergyman, being Rector of St. Pancras. For the establishment of such a bishopric, Joshua Watson and kindred spirits had for some years laboured. The precedent of the bishops in America was cited in its favour.

He was consecrated by Manners Sutton on the 8th May 1814. Mr. Hore, in his *History of the Church of England*, says that, in proposing the health of the newly appointed bishop, the archbishop wound up with the following paternal advice : " Remember, my Lord Bishop, that your Primate on the day of your consecration defined your duty for you, that duty is to put down enthusiasm and to preach the Gospel."[2] 1814, the year of his retirement from business, saw Watson's election to be treasurer of the S.P.C.K. There was, as Archdeacon Cambridge, a prominent divine, said, " a universal request of archbishops, bishops, priests, and deacons " to him to accept the office. Manners Sutton presided over a very full meeting of the Society held at its then offices in Bartlett's Buildings, Holborn, when the election took place, and supported it in a speech of—as Watson's biographer expresses it—" dignity and grace." He spoke of Watson's " talents and unwearied zeal for whatever was most dear and valuable," and from no one could praise of Watson more fittingly come than from the Primate who was so often, and so long, indebted to him for help and advice.

The establishment of Bishop Middleton at Calcutta and the appointment of Watson as treasurer of the

[1] *Parliamentary Debates*, xxvii. 866. [2] ii. 239.

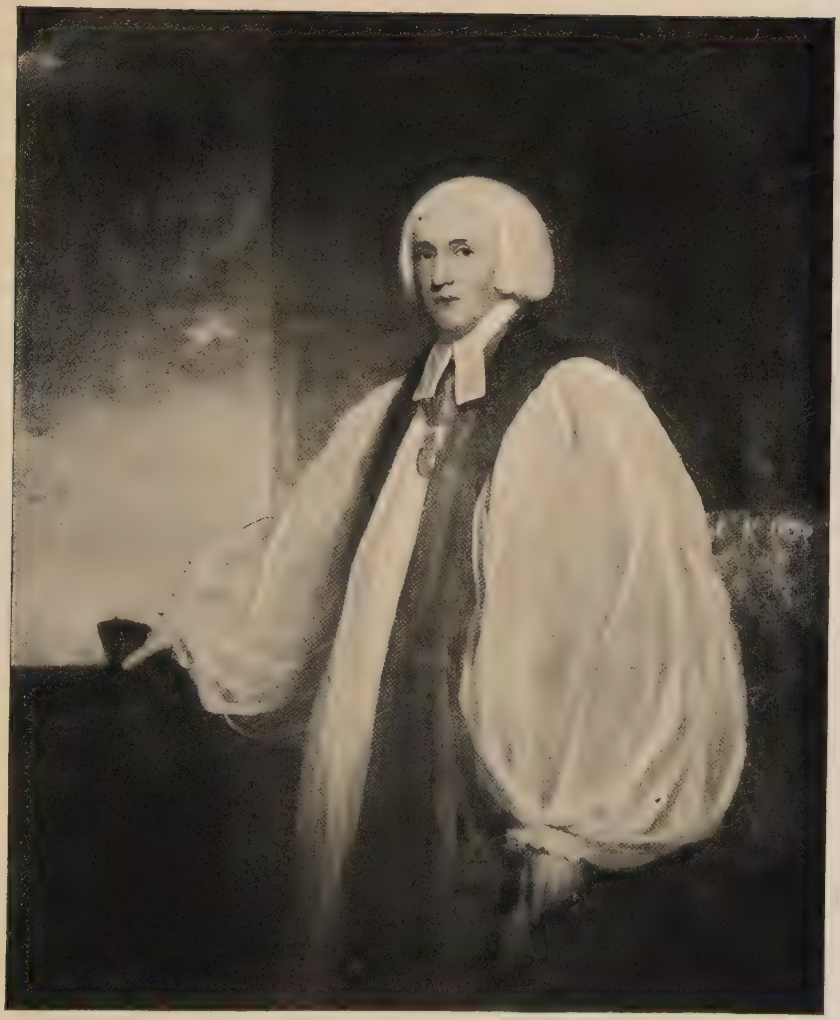
S.P.C.K. were the occasions of the Church taking up a new position as regards missionary work in India. And in these steps Manners Sutton took a leading, if a cautious, part. The eighteenth century saw practically the only mission in India, that which had been founded by the Danish Missionary, Bartholomew Zeigenbalq, at Tranquebar. The Dutch East India Company had, before 1700, a missionary college in Ceylon ; but when Zeigenbalq started his work in 1706 he, from the first, got liberal support from England. England and Denmark were on good terms. Queen Anne's husband was a Dane : Wake presented Zeigenbalq at the English Court in 1716, and students of Archbishop Wake's life know how voluminous are the communications between him and the Tranquebar missionaries. Later on there was no doubt an ecclesiastical department of the Board of Control ; but till the middle or end of the eighteenth century the East India Company was limited in its domains. Since 1701 there had been the S.P.G., but, as Churton says, it was " rather a board for furnishing aid and administration to the funds which the Government supplied to the clergy in the North American Colonies than a Missionary Society for the Church at large." Its annual voluntary subscriptions and donations were less than £1000. So what England gave over a period of half a century to the poor Dutch missionaries at Tranquebar came to be held by the S.P.C.K. Its new treasurer thought that now there was a bishop of Calcutta, the missionary funds should be held by the missionary society. Wordsworth, Rector of Lambeth, afterwards Master of Trinity College, Cambridge, father of a great English bishop and grandfather of another, agreed with him and thought it was a good time to arouse interest in the missionary cause among English Churchmen. He even hoped to consolidate the S.P.G. and the C.M.S. Watson and Wordsworth went to Manners Sutton, who was favourable to their ideas, which included a royal letter for a general col-

lection in parish churches. "Draw up a memorial," said the archbishop, "and I will present it to the Prime Minister."[1] So a letter and a memorial to the archbishop were prepared. An East India director approved the drafts. The letter hoped that Middleton's "sound discretion" would overcome any jealousies that the new establishment had aroused (some of the chaplains had, in fact, preferred a Governor-General's to episcopal control), and suggested a college for training native clergymen, but especially asked for the transfer to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel of the missionary department of the S.P.C.K. "Then, my lord," the memorial wound up, "the Church of England, strong in her three chartered and ancient societies, each with undivided energy pursuing its own single and simple object and having a common centre of union in your Grace's presidency, might in her Education Society, her Bible and Religious Tract Society, and her Missionary Society boldly offer to her members all that the most zealous of her communion need desire in the great concern of religious and moral instruction at home and abroad."

The memorial was more specific: it extolled the Dutch Tranquebar mission; twice Middleton's liberality had saved it from ruin; the Christians in Ceylon had recently been placed under an archdeacon at the request of the Governor; they numbered 600,000 or 700,000; money was needed. If Manners Sutton favoured the application, "a small Parliamentary bounty" as in British North America might be given; or if even this were too much, a general appeal "from all the pulpits in the country" might have good results.

By a resolution passed at a full meeting, the S.P.C.K. handed over its India Fund to the S.P.G. The archbishop got the S.P.G. to vote the new Bishop of Calcutta £5000 to help his work. Lord Liverpool did

[1] Churton, 173.



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what Manners Sutton asked him ; and the archbishop was able to announce the first of the royal letters to be issued by the Prince Regent authorising collections in all churches for the S.P.G. This produced £50,000, and as a result of the effort the good Middleton was able to start Bishop's College at Calcutta.[1]

In 1814 the widespread distress extending over the portions of Germany which Napoleon's conquests had devastated aroused the charity of England. We read nowadays with interest *Lives of Napoleon* and admire the greatness of the man ; the misery he spread is not so present to us. In Dantzic 1761 buildings were left demolished, 4420 damaged, and a great number of the inhabitants lost their all. An orphan house was set up at Pirna " in the midst of nearly fifty miles of totally destroyed villages and towns."

Manners Sutton was largely concerned with stimulating and giving effect to the charity of England. A fund was raised as usual in the City of London. But this was not enough. Watson was jealous of the honour of the Church, and, appealed to by him, Manners Sutton started a subscription which was liberally responded to, the archbishop's only condition being that Watson should manage the details. The favourite form in those days of a charitable appeal to Churchmen —a King's letter read in the churches—produced a large collection. Parliament granted £100,000, and showed on what good terms Ministers were with the Primate by making the £100,000 payable to the archbishop. Manners Sutton—wise man as he was—trembled at becoming a public accountant ; and it was only reliance on Watson's skill in finance and the excellent arrangements[2] he made with the Bank of England that prevented Manners Sutton from declining the trust. Prussia got about £8000, Silesia £11,500, Saxony £21,009, Hanover £12,200, from the Parliamentary Grant. When the fund closed in 1816, Watson

[1] Churton, 181. [2] Churton, 152.

got a unanimous vote of thanks for his services as secretary, accompanied by a personal letter from the archbishop, in which he spoke of "the many personal obligations" he owed to Watson, "for the assistance he had unremittingly afforded" him "in the whole of this business."

The years 1817 and 1818 saw a great impetus to the work of church building. Sutton as Primate took a fitting part in the movement. But the driving force came from laymen like Joshua Watson and clerics like Van Mildert and Archdeacon Daubeny, who seems to have been the first man to insist on a new church, in the building of which he was interested, containing free seats.

No doubt things had got pretty bad as regards church accommodation. Without the consent of the parson of the parish it was an ecclesiastical crime to build a church, and the parson did not always want another built or his parish subdivided. According to Mr. Hore, only twenty-four churches were built or rebuilt in England and Wales between 1800 and 1807, though new populations were springing up everywhere and old ones trebling their numbers. In the first twenty years of the century there were only ninety-six. In the following ten years the number went up to three hundred and eight.

An important factor was the starting of the Incorporated Church Building Society. Its first name was the Church Room or Free Church Society, and Joshua Watson notes in his diary, under date 4th July 1817, that he was appointed to prepare an address to the public to precede rules, etc. Watson duly drafted rules with the aid of Archdeacon Daubeny. On 18th February 1818 a large and influential meeting of the supporters of the new Society was held, over which Manners Sutton presided, and at which he delivered what the *Gentleman's Magazine* calls "a luminous and energetic address." Christ Church, Oxford, contributed

£1000,[1] and Daubeny, with scruples that it were not anonymous, £500 to the Society. Wordsworth, brother of the poet, had just been brought back by the archbishop to his side, having been appointed to the Rectory of Lambeth.[2] He set on foot the building of four new churches in his parish.

Meanwhile the Government were prepared to co-operate in providing church accommodation. Lord Liverpool, the Prime Minister, was on excellent terms with the archbishop, who had the cause at heart. In Anne's time Parliament had provided for the building of fifty churches in and near London, and had devoted the coal duties to the purpose, but not one-quarter of the fifty had ever been built. The number is given at nine or eleven.[3] The Royal Speech at the opening of the Session in 1818 had invited attention to the deficiency, and in March the Chancellor of the Exchequer brought the matter before the House of Commons. In his speech he said London had a population of 1,129,451, but the church and episcopal chapels could scarcely contain more than the odd numbers. The clergy of the sparse churches that existed were overworked. One curate, so the Chancellor of the Exchequer said, affirmed that on a recent Sunday on which he had taken a friend's duty, he had performed two morning services and one evening service, having assistance only for one sermon. He had married so many couples that he had forgotten the precise number; he had read the Churching of Women twice; he had christened seventeen children and had read the Burial Service five times over seven bodies—a separate funeral having been found impossible. The Chancellor proposed to raise £1,000,000 by the issue of Exchequer Bills, and to vest the administration of the fund in Commissioners.

The measure passed the Commons without dissent; and on 21st March, Lord Liverpool writes to Lord

[1] Churton, i. 201. [2] Perry, iii. 175. [3] Hore, i. 240.

Harrowby, a keen Churchman and supporter of the measure, urging that the matter should be pressed forward. "I have written to this effect," he says, "to the Archbishop of Canterbury. He is to have a meeting of the bishops on the subject on Easter Tuesday." Lord Liverpool moved the second reading of the Bill himself in an elaborate speech in which he stated that the Church ought to provide accommodation for one in three of the population. With the subscriptions the grant would evoke it was hoped to build 150 to 200 churches. Marylebone was to have 5, Pancras 4, Shoreditch 4, Bethnal Green 4, Lambeth 3, Manchester 7, Sheffield 4, Stockport 3, Birmingham 3 or 4.

Sutton spoke in support of the measure and congratulated the Lords on it passing practically unopposed. In Committee there was a little breeze over the architecture of the proposed churches, but in the end Whigs and Tories agreed that though accommodation was to be the first point, they would not neglect, as the archbishop put it, an adherence to that mode of buildings which characterised the reformed Church of England from churches where that reform was carried too far. In the course of his speech he said that he held in his hand a letter from Perceval, written a few days before his assassination, stating that he hoped shortly to furnish the archbishop with full details required of the scheme for providing new churches.[1]

The Bill as it passed into law became the Act 58 Geo. III. cap. 45. It was strictly a Church Building Bill. The commissioners it appointed were to examine parishes and have regard to the amount of population, and the disproportion between the number of inhabitants and the present church accommodation. Some of its provisions sound strange to our ears. By the Statute, in the churches to be built under it, part was directed—not empowered—to be "arranged in pews to be disposed of or let under the Act, and part

[1] *Parliamentary Reports*, 818, ii. 719.

not so arranged to be free seats." Manners Sutton and his coadjutors believed in the potency of preaching. Where there was an excessive population the Act, sec. 85, provided for a third service being either morning or evening service *with a sermon* as the bishop should direct. Section 75 showed that the framers of the Act had in mind the Scriptural injunctions with reference to a clergyman's "own house." It enacted that there should be a "seat or pew sufficient to hold six persons contiguous or near to the pulpit for the use of the minister and his family"; also "seats not less than four—not among the free seats—for the use of the minister's servants." Perhaps nowadays such points would be left to the churchwardens for the time being; but they are a picture of the feelings of the leading Churchmen of the day.

Some anxiety was felt whom the Government would appoint as commissioners. Manners Sutton had no doubt a powerful voice in selecting them, and foremost among his lay advisers was Joshua Watson. Archdeacon Cambridge, a bosom friend of Watson's and joint-treasurer with him of the newly-formed National Society, and Archdeacon Pott, as well as Watson himself, and Dr. Wordsworth, afterwards Master of Trinity, figure in the first list.

They had an office in Great George Street, Westminster, but their preliminary meetings were held at Lambeth Palace under Manners Sutton's immediate supervision, and we get the names of the commissioners in a letter from Pott to Watson under date 1st August,[1] remonstrating with Watson for his non-attendance.

"What happened yesterday to deprive us of your aid at Lambeth? I need not say how much we missed you. The Commission Committee met at Lambeth as was determined—Lord Grenville, the Speaker, Wollaston, Wordsworth, Mant, and myself, and alas! an empty chair for J. W."

[1] Churton, i. 200.

The Speaker was Addington.

Manners Sutton seems to have been especially careful in the selection of his chaplains. Van Mildert was for many years one; later the archiepiscopal chaplains included Lonsdale, a foremost Churchman of the first half of the nineteenth century, preacher of Lincoln's Inn, and later Bishop of Lichfield. Richard Mant, afterwards a bishop, named in Pott's letter, and George D'Oyley, afterwards rector of Lambeth and biographer of Secker, were now two of the chaplains. Mant was author of a famous commentary, and was especially trusted by Manners Sutton. The S.P.C.K. about 1815 projected a Family Bible. It was originally to be double-barrelled—one for students, one for cottage readers; and the notes were to be from the fathers or acknowledged Church of England divines. There was a little uneasiness that by these rules the scope of divines quoted would be too narrow.[1] Manners Sutton altered the plan of the designers of the work and entrusted the preparation of the commentary to Mant or D'Oyley.

The first church completed by the aid of the commissioners under the Act was that of Bitton in Gloucestershire. The then Bishop of Gloucester was Henry Ryder, a friend of Simeon of Cambridge and a man of great piety.[2] He had been a supporter of the building of the new church. In a letter to Watson, dated 17th September 1821, he describes the new church and its consecration ceremony:

"In spite of one or two slight defects in architectural taste it is a fair Gothic structure. In situation 'set upon a hill,' indeed observed and admired by the people for several miles round."

Of the consecration he says:

"From 1500 to 1600 crowded the area, which, however, will contain from 1000 to 1200 persons, I

[1] Churton, 126. [2] Churton, 230.

understand, conveniently. Many of the Dissenters and some of the wildest practical infidels of the neighbourhood were present. Great decorum, attention, and some degree of apparently deep interest were observable in the congregation. I preached upon the text, 'Where two or three, etc.'"

The bishop goes on to tell of a "Lancastrian" school near, the pupils of which, it is hoped, may attend church. "The Wesleyan chief," he says, "has, I understand, shown a very favourable disposition."

Sutton is found in 1819 speaking on the Catholic question, which then absorbed so much public interest. In June Lord Grey proposed to relieve candidates for office and for Parliament from making the Declarations against Transubstantiation and Invocation of Saints as idolatrous and superstitious. His argument was: "You exclude Roman Catholics from the franchise because their religion requires them to give allegiance to a foreign potentate, the Pope. The doctrines abused by the Declaration have nothing to do with foreign allegiance. Why require persons to declare things which they imperfectly understand as idolatrous and superstitious? Good Churchmen, such as Archbishops Herring and Sheldon had held transubstantiation to be false but not idolatrous." Lord Grey was seconded by the Bishop of Norwich in a speech of great power.

The archbishop, as we might expect, was against giving the Romans any rope. "In this dangerous age of experiments," said he, "when so many innovations had been made—when in a neighbouring country morality, social order, and good government had been overthrown, and even Christianity annihilated"—(what a Godsend to speakers on the Conservative side was the French Revolution for fifty years!)—"should this nation in the pursuit of a political experiment throw away the blessings of a constitution which had saved us from so many perils." Majority against the Bill, 59.

George III. died on the 29th January 1820, and the Regent became King. The unhappy position of things between him and his wife caused urgent and serious questions at once to arise as to the status and rights of the latter lady. It is not strange that the chief officer of the Church of England found himself involved to some extent in the handling and solution of these questions.

We may remind our readers that George IV.'s first days as King were marked by his own severe illness,—it is believed that he would have died within forty-eight hours of his father had not Sir Matthew Tierney bled him almost to death,—and the Cato Street Conspiracy under Thistlewood for the *en masse* assassination of the Cabinet attracted attention, but subject to this the case of the Queen became the absorbing topic of attention for Ministers and for the public.

We may also remind our readers that Caroline, then Princess Royal, had left England in 1814; that she had since lived abroad in Italy and on the Mediterranean under circumstances which gave rise to suspicion; that in 1819 George IV., then Prince Regent, who wanted to marry again, communicated with the Ministers as to a divorce, and that the Queen's friends and advisers in this country, particularly Lord Brougham, then Mr. Brougham, were at first disposed to agree to a separation.

On George III.'s death, Caroline apparently determined to return to England, and in spite of Brougham's persuasion to the contrary, given when he met her at St. Omer, she arrived in London in June.

The first point that arose was, how was Caroline, now Queen, to be dealt with in the Prayer Book? The King insisted on her name being omitted, and Lord Liverpool and his Cabinet, with the exception of Canning, agreed. The King, incensed at the Queen's coming to

England, where she was received with enthusiasm by the crowd, sent down to Parliament documents affecting the Queen's conduct abroad — and Liverpool proposed that these should be referred to a Secret Committee.

The Queen and her supporters objected to this Committee as consisting of persons who had already made up their minds adversely to the Queen. Lord Liverpool had proposed the Archbishop of Canterbury to be on the Secret Committee. Lord Dacre, who presented the Queen's petition against the Committee to the Lords, objected on the ground that the Primate would not have suffered the name of the Queen to be excluded from the Liturgy—as it had been by Order in Council—without having formed impressions unfavourable to her.

Manners Sutton showed weakness; he took up the position that he was not the responsible adviser of the Crown in the alteration of the Liturgy. The alteration had been made on the advice of Ministers in Council, and the archbishop merely executed the Orders in Council; he was willing to go off the Committee if satisfactory grounds were shown which did not impeach his public or private honour.

The Secret Committee met and reported, and its report, as is well known, produced the Bill of Pains and Penalties against the Queen, which proposed to deprive her of her status as Queen, and to dissolve and annul the marriage between her and His Majesty.

We do not propose to repeat the long but interesting story of the Queen's trial. The Bill was carried on its second reading by 123 to 95, but on the third reading by 108 only against 99, and was then dropped. As is known, the unfortunate Caroline was refused admission to Westminster Abbey on the Coronation, fell sick, and died. As to the Bill, the second reading was opposed by the Archbishop of York, but supported

by the Primate and ten bishops. In Committee a very serious question arose as to the clause dissolving the marriage, or, as it was called, the divorce clause. The earlier clause deprived Caroline of the status and rights of Queen Consort. In Committee the Archbishop of York moved the omission of the divorce clause. Bloomfield of Chester said he thought the crime of adultery had been proved against her, and so had voted for the second reading, but he did so on an understanding that the divorce clause was to be laid aside. Sutton's view was that divorces *a vinculo* were declared to be lawful by our Saviour Himself. The words "for any other cause" than adultery made divorces for adultery allowable. Being convinced the charge of adultery was proved, he had no objection, least of all of a religious nature, to the clause. The clause was carried by 129 to 62. But the minority included two archbishops, one of Tuam, and eight bishops. In February 1821 an annuity of £50,000 was voted by Parliament to the unfortunate Caroline. Lord Darnley, one of her supporters, took the opportunity of asking that her name might be restored to the Prayer Book. The archbishop's short speech against the proposal is as reported one of the weakest and most inconsequent that he made in Parliament. He laboured the point that the matter was wholly unconnected with religious principle. It was a claim not for prayer but for distinction in prayer, and was therefore a matter not of religion but of grace and favour. Caroline would come in under the prayers for the Royal Family, and if not, would have the benefit of the prayers of the Church for the human race generally. It is of interest to note that on investigation it was found that on the point of mentioning Royal Consorts in public prayer the practice of the English Church had not been uniform. Some had been mentioned, some not.

Of the whole question of George IV. and his wife, the populace at the beginning of the nineteenth century

took the side of the Queen on the broad ground that as a husband he was certainly to blame whether she as a wife was or not. The upper classes mostly thought the King was the King, and could do no wrong ; perhaps our archbishop's views were tinged, too much tinged, as those of his class. One hundred years later, had the case arisen then, the view of the populace of 1820 would have gained more general support.

The good work of Bishop Middleton at Calcutta was cut short by his death after a short but severe illness in July 1822. His successor was the brilliant Reginald Heber, author of "Palestine," the best of Oxford prize poems, and of the hymn "From Greenland's Icy Mountains." Perhaps the Hackney Phalanx had misgivings whether he were not too many-sided and too little clerical ; his *Life of Jeremy Taylor* had deficiencies, and on his way up to Bengal he wanted to shoot a tiger. But the doubts were of a very few only. Heber was consecrated by Manners Sutton on Sunday, 1st June. The archbishop seems to have felt a timidity about the Bishop of Calcutta, afraid perhaps that either by Evangelical Churchmen or by Nonconformists the maintenance of such a post would be looked upon with suspicion or distrust. Nine years before, when the first Bishop of Calcutta had been consecrated by him, he had deprecated, if not forbidden, the publication of the consecration sermon preached by Dr. Rennell. Now Heber is consecrated in the presence of a handful of persons in Lambeth Chapel. Heber himself notes in a letter that the archbishop kindly invited his brother and Mrs. Manners Sutton, his daughter Emily with two friends. "The archbishop," says Heber in the same letter, "read the service beautifully, and I was much affected."[1]

Manners Sutton presided also at Heber's "send off" meeting in the old S.P.C.K. offices in Bartlett's Buildings, and gave a "grave and dignified" address. Heber

[1] *Life of Heber*, 133.

replied with eloquence and earnestness. The meeting was impressive. Watson wrote of it :

" It was indeed a grand day, and every one seemed delighted with it ; none more so than the archbishop, who told me a day or two afterwards with his usual emphasis that it was perfect."

Van Mildert says of the same occasion : " I know not when I had so exquisite a treat. It was everything that the purest taste and the most unaffected piety could desire."

In 1823 and 1824 the everlasting question of marriage and the solemnisation of marriage was before Parliament, and we find Sutton introducing a Marriage Act Amendment Bill. One of the matters dealt with was the annulment within a year of improper marriages of minors. The problem was how to deal with the case of a minor marrying without the consent of parents or guardians. There were, said the archbishop, three courses :

(1) To make the consent of parent or guardian unnecessary.
(2) To leave the marriage without consent dissoluble at any time.
(3) To make the marriage voidable by the parents for a year.

The last course, though not altogether without objection, was what the archbishop recommended. The Bill got a second reading, though opposed by the advocates of indissoluble marriage.

Later in the year Lord Lansdowne moved a Bill to enable Dissenters to be married in their own chapels, or alternatively to have the Anglican service mangled by the omission of certain words. Sutton spoke and opposed any alteration in the Prayer Book, and the Bill dropped.

The next year saw the introduction by the same peer of a Bill granting relief to the Unitarians in enabling them to

be married in their own chapels, or with the invocation of the Trinity in the Church service omitted. He was rebuked by the Lord Chancellor Eldon, and his views seem not to have suited the young Bishop of Chester, Bloomfield, who thought the Unitarians undeserving of any concession. Even as far back as 1825, Bloomfield's great abilities seem to have made their mark in Parliament. The Bill was lost, as was another Bill for a somewhat similar purpose, in the following year—which was supported by the Primate, and opposed by Bishop Bloomfield.

By this time the agitation on the Catholic Enfranchisement claims was at its height. As they have often done since, the clergy got up petitions against the Bill. History repeats itself, and Eldon having presented a petition against the claims from the congregation of Percy Street Chapel, Lord King told the House the minister had before the conclusion of the service informed the congregation that a petition was lying in the vestry for signature, and as the House of Lords was influenced by numbers, he recommended all the females to sign it. The learned and pious Howley, Bishop of London, vindicated the clergyman and said he had not introduced any political discussion into the pulpit. But the Primate mightily disapproved of his conduct as both irregular and improper.

The archbishop was now an old man, having covered the Psalmist's threescore years and ten. For the last three years of his life, from 1825 to his death in 1828, he was unable to attend the House of Lords. In 1825, when his health was infirm, he had the chance of repaying the debt of service he owed to Joshua Watson. Sutton had amassed a large fortune, as was then the fashion of archbishops; and, whatever defects or even faults he had, niggardliness was not one of them. 1825 saw a great commercial crisis, and poor Watson was hard hit, though his own losses were not like those of some of his connections, ruinous. His church and charity funds were fortunately intact, "in safe keeping," says his biographer, "elsewhere," and he was helped at a time of pressure by

being repaid a large sum which he had some years before lent a friend for a benevolent object. A few days before Christmas 1825, Watson got a note from Lambeth Palace:

"My DEAR SIR,—When you called upon me a week or ten days ago, I was not well enough to see you. I am now most anxious to have five minutes' conversation with you. Spare me if you can five minutes to-morrow morning between the hours of 10 and 12. From, my dear Sir, your faithful and obliged friend and servant,

"C. CANTUAR."[1]

Watson went and made notes of the interview. There was emotion on both sides. Sutton began by apologising for not coming to Watson: his doctors would keep him at home; then with "a faltering voice and suffused eyes" he expressed his deep sympathy with Watson's trouble and offered help—which meant financial or other help. "These are not words of course," said the Primate, "I speak from my soul; and upon every public and private ground of personal respect I say it would be the highest gratification to me to come forward in any way that can be of use." Watson disclaimed meriting such kindness by anything he had done. "Not so," said the archbishop. "I have long been under great obligations to you. . . . They are obligations of many years." Watson was able to decline the proferred help, which seemed almost, says his biographer, "to disappoint the kindly Primate." "Well," he said, "perhaps not now; but it may be otherwise. . . . I have never felt more strongly in my life." The day before the interview he had asked the advice of Mr. Justice Allan Park as to what he should do. "Judge," said he, "I can tell you, I could not love that man more were he my own son."

The archbishop's death, however, at the age of seventy-three came rather unexpectedly. He was buried in a vault under Addington Church. It is significant of the change in our ideas of burial, that of the

[1] Churton, *Life of Watson*, 250.

five archbishops buried at Addington the first two are buried inside the church and three in the churchyard.

The funeral procession from Lambeth Palace was of an ornate and imposing kind, with the usual number of porters and mutes then employed in private funerals. It is of interest that the first part of the Burial Service was read by John Lonsdale, afterwards Preacher of Lincoln's Inn and Bishop of Lichfield.

Manners Sutton died a rich man. He was bold enough to write his will in his own hand—providing fairly for his family and making his son, the Speaker, executor. The latter, it is said, bought a house for his mother and sisters in Gloucester Place.

The archbishop's eldest son Charles, like the sons of several archbishops of the time, was called to the Bar, where he made for himself a good position, being Treasurer of his Inn, Lincoln's Inn, in 1825. He entered Parliament as member for Scarborough in 1806, and here he also attained distinction. He was afterwards member for Cambridge University. He was judge advocate-general, and was elected Speaker in June 1817.

In 1835 he was created Viscount Canterbury. It was a remarkable fact that for several years the brother of the Primate was Lord Chancellor of Ireland, and his son Speaker of the House of Commons. The archbishop's eldest daughter Mary married the Hon. Hugh Percy, Bishop of Carlisle; another daughter married the Rev. James Croft, who became Archdeacon of Canterbury.

The fashion of the day to eulogise almost without discrimination a deceased prelate or statesman renders it difficult to gauge exactly Sutton's merits or demerits as Primate. On the whole, a careful examination of his interpositions in Parliament while archbishop, extending over twenty years, leads to the conclusion that though mistaken in his principles, as for instance on his attitude towards relief of the Roman Catholics, he acted with dignity and propriety in the House of Lords. He was

more jealous than a Primate would nowadays care to be in protecting the rights of the clergy to their temporalities, *e.g.* when he brought in a Bill to aid clergymen in getting effective dispensations for holding two benefices beyond the prescribed limit, and in his treatment of non-resident rectors or vicars ; but on such questions as divorce he took a high and worthy line.

His biographer in the *Gentleman's Magazine* says that in saying that his Grace passed through life with the character of a most accomplished gentleman, let it be understood that he was a Christian gentleman. Later on he adds naïvely, " Fortune as well as merit, it is said, is necessary to make a great man." Birth was the fortune or casualty which brought about his advancement ; the merit was of no peculiar or remarkable character, but there was no deficiency, and none of those eccentricities or originalities by which great genius is often debased or deformed. His expenses were splendid and liberal ; his personal habits temperate and abstemious.

We must remember that for twenty years after the French Revolution it would have been impossible for the head of the English Church to be anything but conservative in religion and in politics. To any suggestion of reform nine out of ten educated Englishmen only waved their hands in the direction of France—" Our King still has his head on and his crown upon it." Later, " Who else but England has stemmed the tide of Napoleonic conquest ? " " How have we done it ? Our constitution has done it. Even if it has defects, be careful before you change it in any particular."

With reasoning on these lines Manners Sutton would in the main have agreed. But there are points in his favour to be noted. The Government of the day listened to and trusted him : his chaplains and most if not all of those he preferred, such conspicuously as Wordsworth, were the best men in the Church. He was discerning of ability and merit ; from some letters written

to the S.P.C.K. about its publications he saw the stuff of which Hugh James Rose was made, and brought him forward. When Watson's biographer—no mean judge—is commenting on the fact of the archbishop and bishops having, at first, the right reserved to them of appointing the committee of the newly-formed National Society, he attributes it " to the personal dignity and authority " of Manners Sutton. The same author testifies to his rule over his suffragans, saying, " Seldom has any Primate presided over the English Church whose personal dignity of character commanded so much deference from his suffragans or whose position was so much strengthened by their concordant support. The fact is certain and the cause deserves to be more studied than it has been by some writers on the state of Church affairs during his primacy."[1]

Joshua Watson had a high opinion of his private and public character and of the wisdom of his administration. This surely counts for a good deal. Writing to the archbishop's son after his death to request half a dozen casts of the bust Chantry had just finished of the late Primate, he speaks of " the extraordinary services which the late archbishop was graciously permitted to render to the Church of England during the most busy period of her history since the Reformation . . . the public benefits conferred by the daily sacrifice of private comfort by such a man none can know but those whose labours were animated by his presence, whilst his judgment directed their counsels and his courtesy won their affections." This is the language of a letter to a son about his recently deceased father, and is more stilted than we should use. But our verdict must be that Sutton, looking at the world through early nineteenth-century spectacles, was a courteous, benevolent Primate, and something more. His son, a distinguished Speaker, as we have said, in his reply to Watson called his father " one of the best of men and one of the most

[1] Churton, 260.

valuable and efficient public servants that ever lived." That is probably what most if not all of the Public Men of his day would have said of the archbishop.

Though no eminence as a Biblical or classical scholar can be claimed for Manners Sutton, he showed as head of the English Church a fitting interest in and disposition to assist the cause of Biblical research. It had long been the opinion of scholars that the libraries at Constantinople, particularly those of the Patriarch of Jerusalem, contained MSS of parts of the New Testament of great value. The libraries of the convents on Mount Athos were supposed to be similarly rich. Very early in the nineteenth century, with the approval and probably at the expense of the Archbishop of Canterbury, two English scholars undertook visits of research to these places. The leader of the party was Professor Carlyle, a good Oriental scholar who had been Professor of Arabic at Cambridge, and was afterwards Chancellor of Carlisle and held the valuable living of Newcastle. He died at the comparatively early age of forty-five. His companion was Dr. Philip Hunt. In the years 1800 and 1801 these gentlemen visited the libraries of the convents in the Islands of the Sea of Marmora, the libraries of the Patriarch of Jerusalem at Constantinople and of St. Saba near Jerusalem. In some cases the scholars succeeded in cataloguing the large numbers of MSS found. From St. Saba Professor Carlyle got from the Superior leave to carry off six of the oldest MSS—two copies of the Gospels, one of the Epistles, two Books of Homilies and the Sophist Libanius. From the Patriarch's Constantinople Library he similarly secured twenty-nine MSS of the Gospels and Epistles, and three classical MSS.

They also procured from the libraries of the Greek Monks on the Prince's Islands in the Sea of Marmora copies of parts of the New Testament of the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries, which, according to Dr. Hunt, they bought from the monks. The docu-

ments of the patriarchs were, however, handed to the English travellers for purposes of collation and examination in London, and were to be returned, says Professor Carlyle, "to the Patriarch of Jerusalem should he ever demand them." Meanwhile the whole find was consigned temporarily at least to the Library at Lambeth.

In a year or two the scholarly Carlyle died before he could carry out his design of a fresh edition of the Greek Testament in which should be incorporated the results of a collation of the newly unearthed Greek MSS.

In 1806 Mrs. Carlyle, the sister of the Professor, and Dr. Hunt made over to the Archbishop of Canterbury two boxes containing what the two scholars had found and brought away, and it would appear that in the matter of what is called by the lady "compensation" the archbishop showed true liberality.

In April 1806 the boxes were opened and the contents examined by Dr. Dampier, Bishop of Rochester, Dr. Charles Burney, and Dr. Todd, head of the Library at Lambeth. They contained thirty-seven volumes—four were marked C as coming from Constantinople, and were noted as subject to return; eighteen marked I, as coming from the Islands; and five marked S, from Syria. All except C were valued by the bishop and his colleagues—and the price so ascertained the archbishop approved and paid to Mrs. Carlyle.

In 1812 a new Catalogue of the documents at Lambeth was made and published which contained all the Carlyle collection, except C.

Alas! a few years later difficulty arose with the Patriarch of Jerusalem. It can be easily understood how a mistake may have arisen as to the terms on which the documents had been suffered to come to England. C admittedly was liable to return.

In 1816 a formal claim was made on Archbishop Manners Sutton for the return not only of the four documents in C, but of others as having "been only

lent to Professor Carlyle." The Patriarch thus claimed eleven documents—two copies of the Gospels, three of the Acts and Libanius from St. Saba, two Gospels, two Psalters, and Eutropius from Constantinople.

Manners Sutton seems to have behaved very sensibly. " C," *i.e.* three Gospels and one Acts, were at once put aside to be returned : so were two Psalters and the Libanius. Mr. Carlyle had the Eutropius. This left one Gospel and two Acts to make good what was reclaimed. These were taken, and in the end the whole parcel was returned to the Patriarch through the Foreign Office and the English Ambassador in Turkey. The archiepiscopal liberality apparently made nothing of the fact that part of what he had paid for he could not keep.

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